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Acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod

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ACCEPTANCE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH - MISSOURI SYNOD

by

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INTRODUCTION

Social Change

Human society is a vast complex of causes and processes which are the result of contact and interaction. Interaction, both as a cause and an effect of contact, is carried on among human beings voluntarily and involuntarily on the sensory, emotional, and intellectual level. Wherever and whenever two people meet, there is interaction. Human beings do not live in isolation; everywhere they are members of a social group, such as family, town, city, state, or nation. Direct and indirect relationships are carried on by members of every group. These relationships produce interaction, and interaction produces change.

Social change is universal and unavoidable. Human society is not a fixed thing, but a process.

> One of the things that history positively demonstrates is that social change is continuous and inevitable, universal and omnipresent. Nothing in the physical stage setting or in the cultural career of mankind is stationary or immutable. Social circumstances and situations are always changing. Social organizations and societal culture, apparently most permanent, are only relatively so, and actually undergo constant modification. One generation's commonplaces are another generation's antiquities.[1]

Human society, then, is only relatively static; it is always in the process of change, and change begets change. It seems that change begets change in geometric measure: the more change there is, the more change there will

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[1] Hertzler, J. O. Social Institutions. Lincoln, Nebraska. University of Nebraska Press. 1946. p. 237.

be. For this reason, no culture stands still. At times a change may be revolutionary, such as the domestication of fire, the discovery of the wheel, and the invention of the automobile. Man is culturally influenced by the changes in the cultural environment which he creates.

Man, because he likes stability, finds it difficult to adjust to change. Often he tries to deal with change in old ways and with old ideas. Sometimes he develops a pernicious fatalism because he cannot cope with certain changes. When social changes are on a large scale and serious, they result in maladjustments among groups, classes and institutions; they cause continual disturbance in the systems of social control, and cultural lags appear. Like a machine, human society never functions perfectly.

Social change may occur in two ways: first, through the addition of new culture traits and complexes (diffusion), and second, through a modification of existing ones (invention). From the standpoint of the individual, social change, regardless of the manner or method of its introduction, constitutes a problem of adjustment. Man must adjust to his environment. Social change is a process which begins at birth and continues throughout life. Most of what is called education is the process of becoming acculturated, of learning how to adjust to the surrounding culture.

Scope of Study

Studies of change in entire cultures, as the review of literature reveals, are abundant, and they serve to lead to a greater accumulation of data from which more reliable conclusions about social change may be

drawn. Studies of change in restricted phases of given cultures are not as numerous and, in terms of the problem presented by this study, they are non-existent. Herskovits[1] asks for more studies of this type when he writes,

> Studies of change in restricted phases of given cultures may be advantageously considered as well as in entire cultures, and there is much to be said in favor of the point of view that it is only through the detailed study of a single institution in a single culture that the dynamics of cultural change can be discerned. Granted that such studies require a knowledge of the range of patterns of the entire culture as background, this approach must nevertheless be recognized as having the inductive character that causes it to partake of the essence of the scientific method.

The present study concerns itself with a special phase in the process of social change in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod. It concerns the acceptance of the English language in this church body from the time of its organization in the United States in 1847 to 1948. It deals, therefore, with a restricted aspect of culture or a specific phase of social change within a particular group during a given period of time in a certain geographical area.

In this study the development of the change in language usage from German to English in the religious services of the congregations as well as in the official meetings and conventions of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod will be traced in terms of time and space from the standpoint of the church as a whole and of its individual districts. To clarify the pattern of English language acceptance in the church, the results of a case study, involving the congregations of the Algona Circuit of the Iowa

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1 Herskovits, Melville J. Acculturation. New York City. J. J. Augustin, Publisher. 1938. p. 75.

District West of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, will be presented. The entire investigation concerns a sociological analysis of the factors which effected an almost complete transition in language usage of a church organization in the United States within a period of about one hundred years.

Procedure

Studies in social change require a knowledge and an understanding of the historical background of the change. The present study concerns a social factor (language) of a church organization in existence in the United States only one hundred and three years. The history of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, therefore, is briefly traced from the time when its founders, because of political, social, and religious conditions in Germany, first considered emigration to the United States to the present day when the body has a Lutheran membership second largest in the United States. In this historical sketch the early attitude of the German Lutherans toward the use of the English language in the work of the church, as well as the manner and rate of the church's expansion, will be pointed out.

To indicate the pattern of acceptance of the English language in the church, language usage in the church as a whole and in its individual districts will be traced. A special study is made of the 1937-1947 decade, and the relation between language usage and adult confirmations, age of congregations, geographical area, and church attendance will be indicated. The role of the English District and the part that it played in the church's

acceptance of the English language will be sketched, and finally, a case study of the churches of the Algona Circuit, Iowa District West, will be presented to show that the pattern of English language acceptance in the church as a whole conforms to the pattern discovered in the congregations of this circuit. Private interviews were held with the pastors of these congregations and the investigator filled out a schedule (See Appendix, pp. 123-41). The investigator tried to make no comments to bias the respondent's answers.

The data in this study are taken from three main sources: the statistical yearbooks of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, published annually since 1919, the Proceedings (convention records) of the various districts of the church, and the results of twelve field cases, involving the congregations of the Algona Circuit of Iowa District West. In addition, personal observation of other congregations of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod and personal interviews with various people since the writer became interested in the subject, contributed to the analysis. The statistical yearbooks supply information reported on language usage in the church as a whole and in its various districts. The Proceedings of the districts contain information showing why the trend toward the increasing use of the English language was present and why it was consistent in the use of more and more English. The case study reveals some of the social processes involved in the transition from German to English in the congregations and substantiates forcibly the proposition that the first World War was the major single factor which accelerated the change from German to English in the church.

Acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, as the data will show, was slow, considered, gradual, but steady. Barriers to the increasing use of English in religious services and official meetings of the church were encountered but successfully overcome. The impact of the first World War hastened the change from German to English, but did not eliminate German usage. While the change from German to English usage at times seemed to threaten the stability and growth of some congregations, the transition was accomplished without irreparable harm. The manner in which the transition occurred was in keeping with advice given by Hertzler[1] who wrote,

> It must also be remembered that whatever action is taken must be rather slow and considered--not sudden change. History shows that that advance is best which comes through the accumulation of little change . . . Large masses of people cannot be moved rapidly and at the same time safely.

Terminology

Terms frequently employed in cultural studies and in works on social change are "acculturation", "assimilation", and "diffusion". Hershovits[2] elaborates on the use of these words and says,

> Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent change in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups . . . . Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture-change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion which, while occurring in all instances of

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[1] Hertzler, J. O. Social Progress. New York & London. The Century Company. 1928. p. 485.

[2] Herskovits, Melville, J. op. cit., p. 10.

> acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of contact between people specified in the definition above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation.

This study on the acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod embraces aspects of a number of sociological concepts, such as social change, culture, diffusion, resistance to change, and ethnocentrism. Social change means any alteration in the nature, content, and structure of social groups and institutions during a given period of time. It is, as has been pointed out, the product of the interaction of many forces. Some changes in society just happen; others are willed. Ross[1] calls the former "transformation", the latter, "reshaping". Culture includes everything, such as institutions, material objects, typical reactions to situations, that characterize a people and distinguish them from other peoples. Culture is not a static, but a dynamic thing. When something new is added to a culture, change occurs. Diffusion means any instance of the transfer of a technique, an attitude, a concept, a usage, or a point of view from one people to another, whether it be through the medium of a single individual or of a group, or whether the contact is brief or sustained. If diffusion is conscious and deliberate it may be referred to as borrowing or, as Wissler points out, organized diffusion. Resistance to change is a subjective factor, difficult to measure accurately, but one which plays an important role in a complete analysis of a condition of social change. Ethnocentrism refers to the tendency of a people

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[1] Ross, Edward A. Principles of Sociology. Third Edition. New York & London. D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. p. 623.

to think highly of its own culture, to regard its own social heritage, its own goods, and its own ways of doing things as superior. "Our attitude towards the Germans and their social heritage during the war is perhaps a point in evidence".[1]

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[1] Davis, J. and Barnes, H. An Introduction to Sociology. New York. D. C. Heath and Company. 1927. p. 507.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature on social change is vast. In order that representative studies of the subject might be presented in a systematic, orderly, and logical way, a number of works have been selected which bear on the problem in general, then those which concern specific culture studies, and finally, those which give emphasis to major theories of social change.

General Studies

One of the first serious attempts to identify and relate in a comprehensive system the processes of human culture and the factors operating in it, was made by Wissler.[1] The three major topics of his book, (1) The Meaning of Culture; (2) Form and Content of Culture; (3) The Relation of Culture to Man, contain many propositions and hypotheses. Employing the Gestaltist approach, the author demonstrates that in order to appreciate what culture is, and what it does, one must view it as a whole. Culture must be seen in its totality. Wissler's view is that there are not many types of culture in the world, but only two: The Oriental, and the Occidental. The former is ancient, the latter is modern. Important elements of culture are never lost. There is a fundamental similiarity among all cultures, a pattern, and the major items in that pattern are these: speech, material traits, art, religious practices, mythology and

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[1] Wissler, Clark. Man and Culture. New York. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1923.

scientific knowledge, family and social systems, property, government and war. Wissler believes in culture cycles. He says,

> They spring from parent cultures, grow, mature, beget other cultures, decline and eventually die.[1]

The effort to describe the first culture pattern, to which both the Occidental and Oriental cultures are to be traced, becomes somewhat involved and is confronted with many difficulties. The proposition that the fundamental lines of cleavage at the dawn of cultures, enumerated as the tundra, the mesa, and the jungle zones, seems to be far-fetched and not very well substantiated. Moreover, the assumption that man, in the course of time, came upon the advantages and utilized the powers of reflective thinking, so significant in the formation and diffusion of culture traits and complexes, is made but not proved.

William F. Ogburn[2] is largely responsible for making a clear distinction between "social progress" and "social change". The latter does not imply the former; social change is not to be confused with social progress. His book on social change deals with inquiries concerning the nature of social changes, why social changes occur, why certain conditions apparently resist change, how culture grows, how, in short, civilization has come to be what it is. Ogburn places a great deal of emphasis on the importance of inventions in relation to social change and shows clearly that outstanding material inventions have had a tremendous influence upon both material and non-material aspects of culture. The hypothesis of "cultural lag" is

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[1] Wissler, Clark, op. cit., p. 212.

[2] Ogburn, William F. Social Change. New York. B. W. Huebsch, Inc. 1923.

amply supported by examples from modern life; statistics and data on the problem of workmen's compensation for accidents are especially pertinent. The author's recommendations for the treatment of maladjustments which inevitably follow in the wake of cultural lags are sensible and sane. His major proposition in this direction is that man can neither change human nature to fit the culture, nor can he change the culture to fit human nature; man must be satisfied to choose those areas of culture where maladjustments are most serious and to achieve better adaptation there by means of practical programs in terms of sublimation, substitution, and recreation.

In 1927 Ellwood[1] laid down a number of propositions about cultural development which are important to an understanding of the subject. One of these generally accepted propositions is that the differential factor which distinguishes all human groups from all animal groups is culture. Again, while many patterns of behavior in human society are communicated visually, the real basis of cultural evolution is language, and the essence of culture is invention or achievement.

> Culture is transmitted socially, that is, by communication, and gradually embodies in a group tradition of which the vehicle is language. Thus culture in a group is a matter of accumulation, while culture for the individual is a matter of habits of thought and action acquired or "learned" by interaction with other members of his group.[2]

That the understanding of cultural evolution is the main key to understanding man's present social condition and his possible future social evolution,

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[1] Ellwood, Charles A. Cultural Evolution. New York. The Century Co., 1927.

[2] Ibid., p. 9.

a position known in history as "historical relativism", may be subject to criticism, but it is a workable method of studying human social development. In a number of chapters the author traces the development of various cultural activities, such as the use of physical tools, food processes, agriculture, war, clothing and bodily decoration, housing, fine arts, property, the family, law and government, morality and religion, and education and science. Culture, he notes, is not a single, simple process, but a complex of processes. While there has not been a general, even advance of culture as a whole, culture, from a long point of view, shows a general advance upward from primitive times, an advance that has been fairly steady in spite of interruptions, retardations, and even reversions. The decline in certain phases of culture has been due to mistakes. In summarizing the major proposition of the book, the author says

> The curve of his evolution, as we have said, is the curve of the development of his culture from animality to humanity, from brutality to spirituality. The whole development of culture will then present itself as a parabola with the aberations most intense as it passes around its focus. The complexity of the stream of culture may defy scientific analysis; but the direction of the stream is clear. It moves though slowly and not without interruptions, toward the development of the distinctly human; namely, of the rational, the social, and the esthetic elements in man's life. Even if this curve is only a play of fancy, it serves at least to indicate to us where we are in the process of human evolution and why things are as they are in our world at the present moment.[1]

Exception must be taken to this hypothesis because the existence of a definite, steady trend in social changes has not been proved. The hypothesis includes so much that effects cannot be pinned down to particulars, and we are still left in the dark about what causes what.

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[1] Ellwood, Charles A. op. cit., p. 262

Of a general nature also is Kroeber's discussion of diffusionism in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences[1]. He says that diffusionism is a process, usually, but not necessarily, gradual, by which elements or systems of culture are spread. It refers to the transmission of cultural content from one population to another. It rests largely on a psychological basis, that is, imitation. Its mechanisms are numerous and most important of these mechanisms is infiltration. Resistance to diffusion is due to the presence in the recipient culture of materials or systems which are, or are felt to be, irreconcilable with the incoming traits or systems and therefore tend to block them and hinder their farther diffusion. Kroeber rightly rejects the theories of German and British schools of diffusionism. The former asserts that originally there were a number of Kulturkreise, not geographical areas of culture, but culture blocks, which existed as a discrete uniform culture in one part of the world and then diffused essentially as a unit. These culture blocks originated, according to the German diffusionists, successively and spread over the whole planet in the course of time and have become represented in all cultures. The British idea is monogenetic. It is contended that at one time and place in human history, namely in Egypt around 3000 B.C., an unusual constellation of events produced a cultural spurt leading to the rapid development of various sciences. From this center of origination, this great culture complex was carried in whole or in part to Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean, to India, Oceania, Mexico and Peru and, in fragmentary forms, to remote

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[1] Kroeber, A. L. Diffusionism. Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 5, pp. 139-142. 1931.

peoples who remained otherwise primitive. American sociologists hold themselves aloof of both of these theories because they are too simple.

Specific Culture Studies

Typical of specific culture studies is the work of Monica Hunter[1]. She made a study of the effects of European contact upon a Bantu society. She spent eleven months in two separate visits with the inhabitants of Pondoland examining the culture of the natives in an endeavor to determine the forces making for social cohesion and those forces responsible for the breakdown of old sanctions and customs. Her work is fairly descriptive of Pondo life, with emphasis on those points at which aboriginal traditions have been influenced, changed, or replaced by what has been imposed upon the people by Europeans, especially in economic affairs, or willingly taken over from them. While conservative tendencies in Bantu society are strong, the forces making for change are stronger. The European is the dominating power everywhere. New ways and ideas are forced upon the Pondo through various administrators, traders, and missionaries. Especially potent is the effect of European environment upon those who from time to time leave the reserves and work in the mines which are wholly under English domination. The major changes in Pondo society have occurred in the economic, political, and religious aspects of life.

Elsie Parsons[2] made a similar but more important study of the Zapotecans of Mitla, a small town of Mexico. In the course of three visits

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[1]Hunter, Monica. Reaction to Conquest. London. Oxford University Press. 1936.

[2]Parsons, Elsie Clews. Mitla, Town of the Souls. Chicago, Ill. The University of Chicago Press. 1936.

from 1929 to 1933 she undertook to determine possible Spanish and Indian derivations of certain aspects of Pueblo Indian cultures. She details in her work the characteristics of Zapotecan culture, and thus lays bare the patterns in Indian-Spanish assimilation and acculturation. Family and personal life, government, religion, economic life, rites and ceremonies, ancient folklore and tales, these aspects of Mitla life constitute the burden of the author's fine depictions. The investigation discloses that much of the material culture of the Zapotecans is Indian, that is, pre-Conquest: house structure, preparation of food, crops and agricultural methods, weaving and pottery-making, the use of copal gum, the ancient incense, but in social organization and particularly in psychological attitudes the townspeople are Spanish rather than Indian. But there are important exceptions to this simple analysis: the tiled roof and other details of house construction are Spanish introductions; so are various methods of food preparation, some farming machinery, the gun and many other tools, and the use of currency and the wage system. Psychologically too, rather than being wholly Spanish, many attitudes partake of Indian rather than of European character: secretiveness, non-competitiveness, lack of aggressiveness, desire for social peace and unity, lack of sexual interest, and interest in how people behave rather than in how they feel or think. In political and ceremonial organization new traits are readily borrowed if they do not clash too severely with preexistent traits, but are wholly rejected or ignored if they are not harmonious with old habits and customs. This familiar ethnological concept, the author discovered, held true especially with regard to the adoption or rejection of various doctrines

of Roman Catholic theology, like purgatory, heaven, hell, sin, the sacraments, etc. The following proposition is well illustrated:

> In hispanicization what was imposed by the European was altered to fit old habits and emotional attitudes. What was voluntarily taken over was what was not incompatible with such attitudes or habits. It would appear that changes in social organization and in material culture are made more readily than changes in personal habits and in emotional attitudes, and that a foreign complex is established in its entirety only when it can be fitted into an old form of behavior and is compatible with existing emotional attitudes.[1]

Ruth Benedict's Patterns of Culture[2] is an illustration of the application of the technique of studying by the method of the whole. Instead of considering the economic, religious, and political aspects of a given culture out of their context, she integrates these facets to give a more comprehensive picture of the cultures under consideration. Cultural analysis, on the basis of personal experience and close association with individuals who had actual experience with the Pueblo, Dubo, and Kwakiutl, is made of these Indian tribes. She reveals both the diversity and integration of these cultures and finds what she calls, "genius of culture". The Pueblos conform to the Appolonian type; they are cool, calm, and unemotional. The Dobuans are dour, secretive, and look at life in terms of personal conflict with a harsh environment. They conform to a mixed pattern. The Kwakiutl conform to the Dionysian type; they are lacking in integration of cultural traits; they are extremely emotional in an overt way; they are neurotically sensitive to shame and insult, and so stand in glaring contrast to the other two cultures. The economic activity of the Kwakiutl, culminating in frequent competitive Potlatches, reveals the megalomania of the

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[1] Parsons, Elsie Clews. op. cit., p. 536

[2] Benedict, Ruth. Patterns of Culture. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Co. 1934.

tribe. The conclusions of the author appear to be well authenticated. It is shown convincingly that in order to understand a culture one must study both its diversity and its integration. Society is a combination of people who, in the course of time, have selected traits from other cultures, rejected those which they are not able to use, and combined them into a configuration which meets their demands. The individual's place in every society is important. Cultures are like cups of clay, differing in shape and capacity, with which individuals dip their share of life. While it is sometimes difficult to characterize the world-view of a people in a sentence and get agreement, the point is that in every culture there is a pattern, a unifying of diverse elements around central principles, a pattern which,once formed, persists, and sets limits to the direction of social change.

Specific culture studies have been made by many others, too numerous for review here. Included among the more important ones are the works of Robert Redfield, Margaret Mead, Paul Radin, Melville Herskovits, and Robert Lowie.

Studies on Theory

Theories of social change have never been lacking. Until recent times most of them were superficial and highly speculative. Oswald Spengler[1] advanced a theory of the decline of Western civilization on the basis of parallels drawn from the history of Egypt, China, and Greece and Rome.

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[1] Spengler, Oswald. The Decline of the West. New York. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1926.

But it too is based largely on superficial analogy. Lewis Morgan[1] had a successive-stages theory of cultural growth, according to which every society must develop in accordance with an evolutionary pattern, and pass through, one by one, an inevitable series of growth stages. His idea of the development of the marriage institution from promiscuity through group marriage, temporary pairing, patriarchal polygyny,to monogamy, has been shown to be without foundation of fact.

Typical of various cyclical theories of social change is Stuart Chapin's theory of "synchronous culture cycles".[2] Chapin distinguishes between several orders of cycles of social change, those relating to material culture, those relating to non-material culture, and those relating to larger cultural composites such as "national" cultures or civilizations. The cycles of the first order are relatively rapid in time; those of the second order are much slower and, since the first and second order run their course within the span of the cycles of the third order; the last are relatively slow and ponderous forms of social change. When the cycles of a number of important cultural forms in a given culture are synchronous, in rhythm , these cycles affect the vitality of the culture as a whole. When the cycles have passed their peaks, the culture is in a state of disintegration. The normal life-history of a culture trait or a cultural form is: growth, equilibrium, decay. Social groups react to stimuli in terms of a three-phase pattern: (1) Enforcement of existing mores which

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[1] Morgan, Lewis H. Ancient Society. New York. Henry Holt and Co. 1878.

[2] Chapin, Stuart F. Cultural Change. New York. The Century Co. 1928.

seems to apply to the situation; (2) Special legislation to affect an adjustment to more that seem inadequate; (3) Integration of experience into a statement of general principles. In support of this theory of social change, Chapin marshals an array of conjectural and empirical data from the cultures of ancient Greece, Rome, and medieval England. The three-phase pattern of social group reaction to stimuli is examined in the light of poor relief legislation in England, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and in the light of the curriculum of the University of Iowa from 1863 to the late 70's. In his treatment of the selective nature of cultural accumulation, Chapin distinguishes between "social" and "societal" selection, the former referring to the pressures of social conditions, customs, and conventions, the latter to the phenomenon of the constraint or exclusion from the group of undesirable characters and practices. Chapin's own evaluation of his work is sensible and scientific. He says,

> The formulations presented in this book should be regarded as entirely tentative and provisional in character . . . In no sense should our formulations be regarded as inductively established laws of the social phenomena they seek to describe or explain.[1]

One of the most elaborate works on the theory of social change is Sorokin's Social and Cultural Dynamics.[2] Its major proposition is: The history of men has been characterized by the change and fluctuation of the Ideational, Idealistic, and Sensate cultures. By an "ideational" culture is meant a culture in which reality is ultimate and transcendental. The main ends of this type of culture are spiritual, its activity is

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[1] Chapin, Stuart F., op. cit., p. 437.

[2] Sorokin, Pitirim, A. Social and Cultural Dynamics. 4 vols. New York. American Book Co. 1937.

introvert, knowledge is based on revelation, moral values are absolute, its social and practical values are those that lead to ultimate reality with an emphasis on sacrifice. In a "sensate" culture, reality is empirical. The main ends of this type of culture are material, its activity is extroverted, self is centered about the sensual, knowledge is based on observation and logic, moral values are relative, aesthetic values are secular, and its social and practical values are egoistic with emphasis on wealth, comforts, and rights. The "idealistic" type of culture is a mixture of the ideational and sensate, or a balanced synthesis of both pure types. Important to the understanding of this scheme is the author's emphasis on the importance of the logico-meaningful system of integration which concerns the discovery, through the use of logical laws of identity, contradiction and consistency of an identity of central meaning and ideas. The essence of the logico-meaningful framework is the finding of the central principle which permeates all the components, gives sense and significance to each of them, and in this way makes cosmos out of chaos of unintegrated fragments. The proof for the hypothesis of this type of social change is taken from the fields of art, painting, music, architecture, systems of truth, reality, ethics, and social relationships through the better known periods of human history. The mass of material presented from these areas of human endeavor indicates the wide range of the author's scholarship. A tremendous amount of research went into his undertaking. But the impression one receives from reading the work is that it is more of a philosophical treatise on history than it is a work in sociology. Sorokin sees history as a cyclical pattern of regression and progression, characterized by incessant fluctuation. Social change has

been neither cyclical nor linear, but variable. His refutation of many long-held theories of cultural change and progress, as well as many theories about specific aspects of culture and society, are well-substantiated. Any subject, however, treated within the author's frame of reference cannot be proved or disproved, that is, assuming the reality of certain types of culture, it is easy to fit social phenomena into the scheme. To criticize Sorokin at all at once places one into the category of Sensate culture and brands one materialistic, relativistic, and rationalistic.

Sims[1] has a theory of social change similar to Sorokin's, but he calls it "Authoritarian-Liberal". This is his theory:

> The primary cause of the cyclical process appears to be the rise of attitudes unfavorable to the socio-cultural situation and induced by its failure. These attitudes, ill-defined at the outstart, grow into conscious opposition to the outmoded organization and its sustaining ideology. Preference is thus stimulated for new, different, or antithetical forms, ideas, and behavior patterns. As these emerge and eventually supplant much or all of the established system, a new harmony is approached. The stability thus attained runs its course in turn, breaks down, and gives way to a new reaction.[2]

William Tudor[3], in interpreting the changes in the program of the Iowa Agricultural Extension Service, advanced a theory of social change called, "variable-sequence causation". According to Tudor, the sequence in change contains a number of variables which tend to group themselves into interrelated complexes. These complexes help or hinder change. The

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[1] Sims, Newell LeRoy. The Problem of Social Change. New York. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1939.

[2] Ibid., p. 428.

[3] Tudor, William J. Variable-Sequence Causation of Change in the Program of the Iowa Agricultural Extension Service. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Ames, Iowa, Iowa State College Library. 1946.

forces that encourage change may be factors within the phenomena experiencing the change or they may be forces outside the phenomena. The factors resisting the change, called resistances, may operate on either the internal or the external factors to impede the change. There are, according to Tudor, three sets of complexes, the internal, the external, and resistance factors which operate to produce change. External factors, according to the study, proved to be most significant in effecting change in the extension program.

Of the various theories of social change, Tudor's "variable-sequence causation" theory of social change is most applicable to the writer's study on the acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod. The basic elements of this theory have been incorporated in the analysis of the transition from German to English in the religious services and official meetings of the afore-mentioned church. The writer's adaptation of this theory appears schematically on page 43 .

Herskovits[1] has shown that the psychological aspects of cultural change dare not be overlooked. People have different appetites; some have a strong desire for security and always want to know where they are going; others want something new and desire change. The "focus of culture" determines where the changes will come. In a culture where certain aspects of life are emphasized and much discussed, like the gods among the primitives or technology in the United States, clamors for change in these areas will be given a hearing, alternatives will be available, and changes will be

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[1] Herskovits, Melville J. The Processes of Cultural Change, in Ralph Linton, The Science of Man. pp. 143-170.

forthcoming. Those aspects of life, however, which do not constitute the culture focus, will tend to remain stable, difficult to change. For instance, changes in religion in the United States come slowly and with great difficulty because religion is not the culture focus in the United States.

Barnett[1], from his study of three groups of Northwest California Indians, concluded that personal conflicts play a critical if not a determinant role in social change. Behind the abandonment of old Indian customs and native taboos, Barnett discovered a conflict of some kind which played a major role in the rejection of the old system. Personal dissatisfactions, he says

> ....give rise to reform parties and clubs, to orthodox and unorthodox sects and cults, to utopian communities and even political states.[2]

This review of literature may be summarized as follows:

1. General studies of social change by Wissler, Ogburn, Ellwood, and others, serve the student of social change well for purposes of orientation. These men laid the ground work in the study of social change.

2. Specific culture studies such as made by Hunter, Parsons, Benedict, and others, make possible the application of theory to fact. The true dynamics of social change cannot be understood until they are actually observed in the field.

3. Studies on theory, speculative as some of these may be, help in viewing the vast complex of processes in social change from a particular frame of reference. Important contributions in this direction were made

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[1] Barnett, C. H. Personal Conflicts and Cultural Change. Social Forces, Vol. 20, pp. 160-171. 1941.

[2] Ibid., p. 171.

by Chapin, Sorokin, Ellwood, Tudor, and others.

While these studies do not, in every instance, contribute directly to the analysis of the acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, they do provide suggestions and certain information helpful in interpreting the findings included in this study.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The present study concerns a social process in operation in an institution in the United States over a given period of time. A sense of history is important to the understanding of this process. The following historical material is presented in the belief that an insight into past conditions of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod will make the evaluation of the language change that has occurred as a result of contact more sure, and the understanding of the effect of the various forces upon the church in America more clear. Neither culture as a whole nor a specific aspect of culture can be understood adequately without reference to the past. Happily, it is not necessary to reconstruct this history, for sufficient historical documents are available to indicate the manner and intensity of the contact between the German immigrants and their American neighbors. Herskovits says,

> Without laboring the point, it must be emphasized that the study of culture change--or, for that matter, the study of culture as a whole--cannot be attempted without a vivid sense of the historically dynamic nature of the phenomenon. Hence, the more background that is available, the better the treatment; or conversely, and even more importantly, the less the sense of history, the more sterile the results.[1]

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[1] Herskovits, Melville J. Acculturation. p. 25.

The Religious Situation in Germany Prior to 1839

The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod was officially organized as a church body in the United States in 1847. The majority of those who became charter members of the organization at that time came to the United States from Germany in 1839. To appreciate the role these immigrants were to play in the rapid development of a confessional Lutheran Church in the new world, one must understand that religious, as well as economic and political conditions in Europe were in a state of turmoil prior to 1839. With the emergence of large scale secondary organization in economic relations, a tremendous increase occurred in secondary group contacts and relationships. For these relationships the people were unprepared. The impact of the Industrial Revolution left the wish for security largely unfulfilled. Men sought safety and refuge in the new world. Europe was also unstable in a political way. The Napoleonic War had come to an end in 1818. This war had been an endeavor to stop ideas with bullets. It was followed, as most wars are followed, by a period of disillusionment, bitterness, and hate.

From the standpoint of confessional Lutheranism the religious situation in Europe prior to 1839 was not conducive to satisfactory religious experience. The growth and influence of the church was negligible. The period of orthodoxy which followed the formative period of the Lutheran Church had ended. Pietism, in sharp rebuke of the dogmatical orthodoxy of the 18th century, had given way to Rationalism. Rationalism had had its origin in the rise of the new Humanism, and was fostered by

the trend of the times, especially by the philosophy of English Deism and French Naturalism. The rationalists of the day denied all divine revelation. The Bible was largely discredited.[1] The Napoleonic War, however, turned many minds to the religion of the Bible and to the confessions of the fathers, and a brief period of religious awakening set in.

Confessional Lutheranism suffered a severe setback in 1817. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 had decreed that all Christian denominations in the German states should enjoy equal toleration. This caused considerable confusion especially in those states which were partly Lutheran and partly Reformed. Frederich William III, therefore, in 1817 decreed a union for the churches of Prussia. Several smaller German states followed suit. The appellation "Evangelical" supplanted "Lutheran" in the official name of the church. The union gave impetus to unionistic practices. A number of Lutherans under the leadership of Claus Harms vigorously opposed the union, and seceded from the Prussian state-church in 1841, organized the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Prussia and, divorced from state control, became self-supporting and self-governing. Others in other parts of Germany, dissatisfied with existing conditions, emigrated to America and to Australia and founded strictly confessional synods.[2]

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[1] The Concordia Cyclopedia. St. Louis. Concordia Publishing House. 1927. pp. 425-428.

[2] Qualben, Lars P. A History of the Christian Church. New York. Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1933. p. 385.

The Saxon Immigration in 1839

It was because of the Prussian Union that a group of Saxons began to think seriously of emigrating to America. A number of confessional Lutheran pastors, Otto Walther, Carl F. Walther, Theodore Brohm, Ottomar Fuerbringer, John Buenger and others, who had studied theology at the University of Leipzig, came to loathe the rationalism and cynicism of some of their professors and rallied around the preaching of Ernst G. Keyl who served a large parish at Neiderfrohna. People from miles around went to hear his Sunday sermons. Carl F. Walther, who played the important role in the founding of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod in America, declared that he had never been so impressed by a preacher as he was by Keyl.[1] But the pastor who was more in the eyes of the public than any of the pastors named was Martin Stephan (1777-1847), pastor of the Bohemian congregation at St. John's in Dresden. Many flocked to him for council and advice. He was a man of exceptional talents, captivating address, and great psychological insight. He possessed a sound judgment of the times, its conditions and tendencies, and of the state of the church in Germany. It was Martin Stephan who suggested the idea of emigration to a country where freedom of religion prevailed. His suggestion soon found many supporters. A group of 670 souls under his leadership stated their willingness to leave the homeland and to emigrate to America. Among the persons who joined the undertaking were men and women of every class and

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[1] Dau, W. H. T. Ebenezer. St. Louis. Concordia Publishing House. 1922. pp. 2-4.

condition of life. There were people in good circumstances, well-to-do merchants, theologians, candidates of theology, teachers, professional men and craftsmen.

The Saxons came to America in five ships, except for the Amalia, which was lost at sea.

The confessional stand of the immigrants was clearly stated in the Emigration Regulations:

> All the undersigned with sincere hearts confess themselves to be adherents of the pure Lutheran faith as contained in the Word of God of the Old and New Testaments and set forth and confessed in the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church. They adhere to these confessions in their entirety, without any additions; they confess these writings in their simple, literal sense, as they have been understood and accepted since their origin, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, by the Lutheran Church.[1]

The Emigration Regulations state as the cause, end and aim of emigration:

> After the calmest and purest reflection they see the human impossibility before them to retain, confess, and transmit to their descendants, this faith while in the present homeland. They are therefore constrained by their conscience to emigrate and search for a land where the Lutheran faith is not endangered and where they can serve God unhindered according to the Word of Grace, by Him revealed and established, and where they can enjoy the use of the means of grace, ordained by God for the salvation of all men, in their completeness and purity and preserve them for themselves and their descendants . . . . Such a land as they are looking for is the United States of North America, where, as nowhere else in the world, complete civil and religious liberty is found and strong and efficient protection for them is assured, even against foreign countries. These States they have therefore chosen as the one and only goal of their emigration and therefore as their new home.[2]

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[1] Polack, W. G. The Building of a Great Church. St. Louis. Concordia Publishing House. 1941. pp. 26-34.

[2] Ibid.

These immigrants landed at St. Louis, Missouri, during January and February, 1839, having made the journey from New Orleans in river steamers. A number of the Saxons, about 120, remained in St. Louis and made their home there. The remainder, after a short stay in St. Louis, moved south to Perry County where they purchased a tract of land (4,400 acres) for $10,000.

Upon their arrival in Perry County, the colonists built large barns to serve as temporary shelters. They cleared lands and broke the soil so that crops for food might be raised. Because the immigrants were not accustomed to hardships entailed by manual labor and intense heat, a feeling of general frustration crept over the group. When the water supplies became exhausted, death levied a heavy toll on the colony and some of the strongest and ablest men were lost. In the course of time, however, the small group formed five congregations, established schools, and founded a log-cabin seminary for the training of pastors.

Organization of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod in 1847

Organization of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod took place at Chicago, April 25, 1847, eight years after the arrival of the Saxon immigrants in the United States. The first Lutherans to come to the United States had organized various bodies before this. A body, known as the General Synod had been organized twenty years before the arrival of the Saxon immigrants. Belonging to this organization were the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the New York Ministerium, the Synod of North Carolina, and the Synod of Maryland and Virginia. The union of these synods was

effected on October 22, 1820, at Hagerstown, Maryland. The Saxons did not unite with this or any other existing Lutheran organization in the United States because they felt there was not enough confessional Lutheranism in these bodies to satisfy them. Dr. J. G. Morris, who served several terms as president of the General Synod, made a statement in 1878 in which he referred to the doctrinal laxity of the General Synod at the time of its organization in 1820. He said:

> Fifty years ago, when there were fewer than 200 ministers in the Church (in America), neither the Augsburg Confession nor any other creed was regarded as obligatory upon them . . . Many of them were not strictly Lutheran on the dogma of the Sacraments, or at least did not attach much importance to it. They were sturdy Lutherans in name, as a party signal, but sadly latitudinarian in their theology.[1]

This situation led a number of men, followers of Loehe, a confessional Lutheran of the Ohio Synodo to break connections with that body and to confer with the Saxons of St. Louis about the organization of a strictly confessional Lutheran Synod. Three major meetings were held, one in St. Louis in May, 1846, the second at Fort Wayne in July of the same year, and the third at Chicago, where organization was finally effected. Twelve pastors together with their congregations became charter members of the new synod. They gave as one of the major reasons for the organization, "the conservation and continuance of the unity of the true faith and a united effort to resist every form of schism and sectarianism".[2]

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[1] Polack, W. G. op. cit., p. 64.

[2] Dau, W.H.T. op. cit., p. 100.

Expansion of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod after 1850

Rapid expansion of the church and of its work followed its organization in 1847. By 1850 forty-two voting pastors, thirty-three advisory pastors and sixty congregations belonged to the new organization. In 1849 the corner-stone of the new seminary and college building in St. Louis was laid. This was the site of the synod's theological seminary until 1926 when the present Concordia Seminary (largest denominational theological seminary in the world) was erected in the western part of St. Louis. In 1853 the first four major districts of the synod were organized: the Western District, the Central District, the Northern District, and the Eastern District.

During the early years of the synod's history, the influx of immigrants from Europe was so great that so-called "colporteurs" were engaged to gather together immigrant Lutherans into congregations wherever this could be done. They went about looking up preacherless German Lutheran settlements and households to admonish them to establish the office of the ministry in their midst and to help them in calling a suitable pastor. The quarter century between 1850 and 1875 was an exciting period for the church and also for the country. This was the age of the opening up of the great western prairies. A stream of settlers, seeking homesteads, moved from the central States to the North and Northwest. The church tried to follow with Lutheran missionaries. During this period the anti-slavery movement reached its height and culminated in the Civil War; the Mexican War also belongs to this era; also, the California Gold Rush, the Mormon movement,

the rise of Spritualism, Adventism, the Temperance movement, and the beginnings of the public school system and the modern Sunday School. By 1875 the church had grown sufficiently large to warrant a division of its body into six districts. (See Map, p. 35). The total number of congregations in 1875 was 704, the total number of souls 107,075, and the total number of pastors had grown from a handful to 536, the majority of whom had been trained in theology in Germany (Table 1). (See Map 1, p. 35).

Table 1. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod districts in the United States and Canada in 1875*

District	Congregations	Pastors	Souls
Western	153	135	15,417
Northwestern	135	86	26,069
Northern**	89	52	12,419
Illinois	137	111	24,331
Central	108	90	13,141
Eastern	82	62	15,698
	704	536	107,075

*Arranged from Graebner, T. The Story of Our Church. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1940. p. 14.

**Includes the congregations, pastors and souls of the church in Canada

Early Attitude Toward the Use of English in the Work of the Church

The original members of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod were Germans. Consequently, they did the work of the church (preaching and teaching) in the German language. They continued to use the German language for many years following the organization of the synod because expansion took place chiefly among German immigrants coming from Germany. Among Lutheran groups who had come to America before the Saxons, were a number who had encouraged the churches to cultivate the use of the English language. But there were also groups of people who, contrary to the spirit of Luther, resisted the introduction of English and insisted on retaining German as the official language of the church.[1] This was true also of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod which had German as its official language until 1928, when a resolution to make English the official language of the synod, was adopted. That there was considerable reluctance on the part of the German fathers to accept the English language may be seen from the constitutions of some of the early churches. In Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, Mo., a paragraph was originally included in its constitution to assure the fact that German would always be the language used in divine services.

> Walther and the majority of the congregation wanted this paragraph to be unalterable and nonrepealable. Some members had their misgivings about the unalterability of this paragraph. The problem was solved temporarily in the next meeting, April 3, 1843, when an addition was made to paragraph 21 stating that the congregation regarded their church as an institution for German Lutherans to maintain

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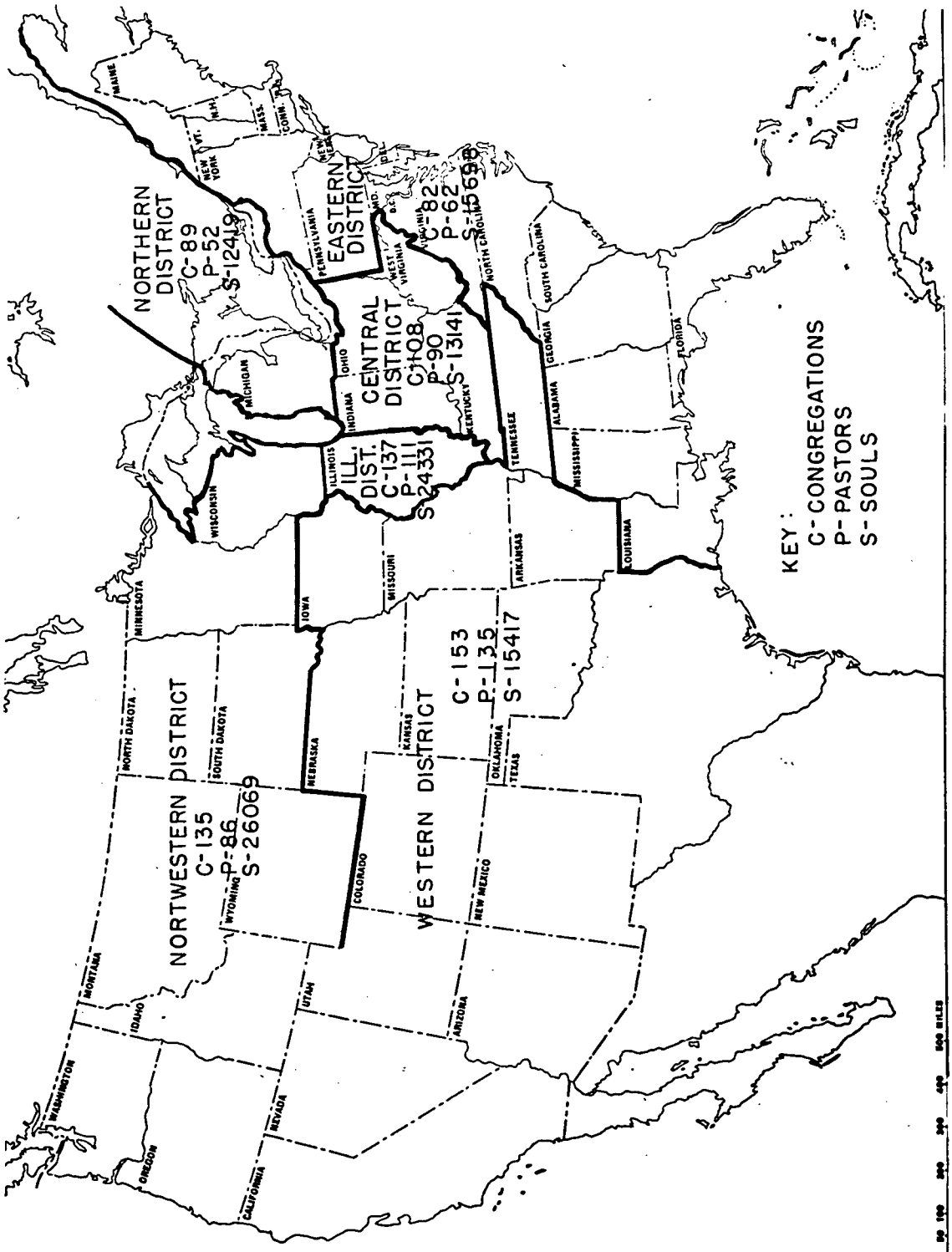
[1] Qualben, Lars P., op. cit., p. 460.



Map 1. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod districts in the United States and Canada in 1875

> services as they had had them. Evidently they connected the orthodoxy with language, which was done repeatedly in the Missouri Synod a habit which stemmed from C. F. W. Walther in his youth.[1]

Many of the German Lutherans were hesitant about introducing the use of the English language into the work of the church because German was their mother tongue and many of them could not speak or even understand English. Moreover, as Mundinger brings out, during the early years of the church's history, many of the people had a great fear that they would lose their confessional Lutheran stand if they gave way to the use of the English language. Consciously or unconsciously, the German fathers linked orthodoxy and language and felt that the two should never be separated. H. H. Maurer, commenting on the language interest of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod in 1925, said:

> Undoubtedly the fact that this church has identified itself with the language interest of the family and the culture group has much to do with its growth and strength . . . It might easily be shown that in this quarter (Missouri Synod) more than anywhere else, the German language has been effectively preserved unto the third and fourth generation, not as a link with Germany and as an insulator against America, but as an insulator of an older group life against both. The strongest appeal of a separate linguistic and educational medium has been for its value as a protection and a means of domestication and immunization against "rationalism", "materialism", "indifferentism", against the "paganism" of the state schools.[2]

But the German Lutherans were not unaware of their obligations to English-speaking people and, as a group, they showed considerable interest in the work among them, for upon the organization of the English District

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[1] Mundinger, C. Government in the Missouri Synod. St. Louis. Concordia Publishing House. 1945. p. 143.

[2] Maurer, H. H. Studies in the Sociology of Religion. V. The Fellowship Law of a Fundamentalist Group. The Missouri Synod. The American Journal of Sociology Vol. 31, pp. 51-52. 1925.

of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod in 1872, Dr. Carl F. Walther, former president of the synod, wrote in the Lutheraner:

> May it please God to lay His further gracious blessing on this small but blessed beginning of the organized care of the scattered children of our church in the West who speak the English language! May every one who loves our Zion assist in the requesting this from the Father of mercy in the name of Jesus! Amen.[1]

When in 1887 the English District requested membership in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod and wished to become a part of the Western District, the request was denied and the group was advised to form an independent synod. Many considered this action a very serious mistake.[2] The English District did not realize union with the German Synod until 1911. It was never a question with the early German Lutherans of their duty to preach the Gospel to English-speaking people. The only question was that of method and organization. They believed it would serve the interests of the church to have a separate, independent English district rather than to permit it to join the German group.[3]

From a socio-psychological point of view, the German immigrants and their immediate descendants in America had been conditioned by German culture in such a way as to make a ready acceptance of the English language difficult. The culture which the immigrants brought from Germany, including the German language, could not be discarded in a day. Nor did

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[1] Polack, W. G. op. cit., p. 129.

[2] Dau, W. T. op. cit., p. 423.

[3] Eckhardt, H. P. The English District. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1946. p. 17.

they desire to do so. As in other racial groups, the spirit of ethnocentrism prevailed among them. They had left Germany because they were dissatisfied with religious and political conditions. They held the German language, however, in high esteem and retained its use in the church for themselves and for their children.

Moreover, the element of time (an important factor in social change) had not yet greatly affected them. Separation from the old world had not been long enough, and contact with the new world intense enough, to make much difference. Adaptation to the new situation had been along other lines, not with reference to a non-material aspect of culture, of which language is an example; and since the immigrants linked the German language, as pointed out before, with a number of their highest values (religious orthodoxy, German culture, family life) they made little or no effort to part with it.

After the process of acculturation had operated for a longer period of time, and after a great number of internal and external social forces had influenced the members of the church, the group as a whole took an interest in the language question, and adapted to the new situation. In the course of time, about one hundred years, the church, in terms of language usage, changed from all German to almost all English. During this time a complex of social forces operated to produce the change.

Present Status of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod

The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, as of 1949, numbers 1,694,024 baptized members. These are distributed in the United States in every State of the land, but chiefly in the central and midwestern States (See Map 2). Outside the continental limits of the United States the church has a baptized membership of 76,130 (See Table 2). It has 1,145,414 communicant members. There are 364,065 children enrolled in its 4,265 Sunday Schools and 92,487 children in its Christian Day Schools.

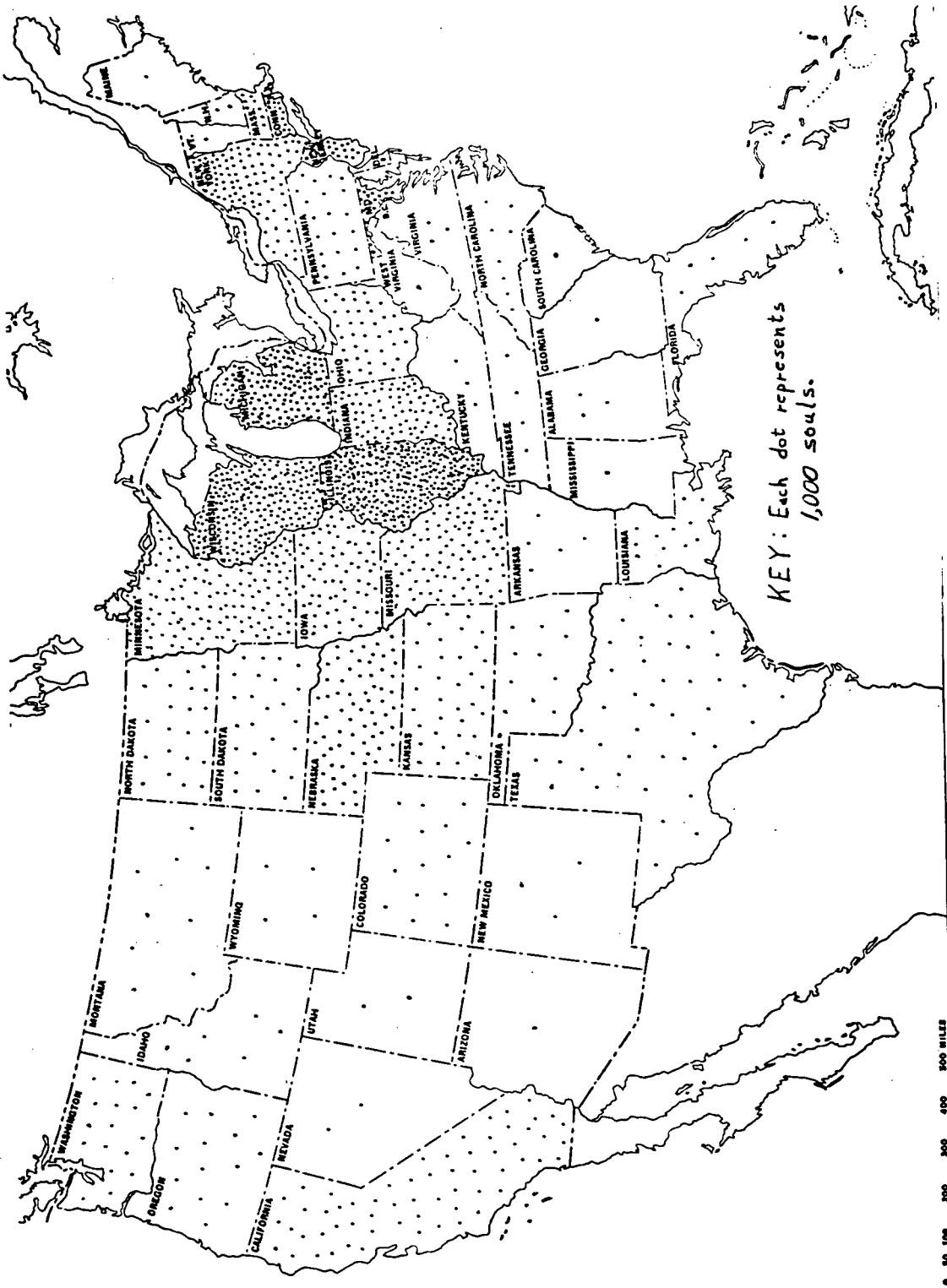
A noteworthy aspect of the church's activities in recent years, since its work has been done almost exclusively in the English language, is the phenomenal increase of adult confirmations. This reflects not only the missionary spirit of its members, but the acceptance of the church by society in general as well. During the period, 1943 to 1945, the congregations of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod confirmed 38,458 adults. During the following three years, 1946 to 1948, it confirmed 66,955 adults. During the past ten years the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod has increased its membership by 24 percent. It is growing at the rate of 600 new congregations every decade. During 1947 and 1948 a total of 204 new congregations were organized in the United States.

While the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod does most of its work in the English language, it also employs the use of eleven other languages: German, Spanish, French, Italian, Slovak, Polish, Lettish, Esthonian, Lithuanian, Chinese, Finnish, and the sign language for the deaf and Braille for the blind.

Table 2. Distribution of the baptized membership of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod by States in 1948*

State	Souls	State	Souls
Alabama	2,690	Nevada	1,340
Arizona	203	New Hampshire	613
Arkansas	5,137	New Jersey	20,964
California	60,526	New Mexico	1,357
Colorado	14,686	New York	92,366
Connecticut	11,697	North Carolina	6,812
Delaware	478	North Dakota	21,533
D.C.	2,546	Ohio	40,999
Florida	4,259	Oklahoma	11,479
Georgia	483	Oregon	13,740
Idaho	5,371	Pennsylvania	21,113
Illinois	235,637	Rhode Island	1,232
Indiana	76,659	South Carolina	461
Iowa	81,866	South Dakota	24,599
Kansas	35,915	Tennessee	3,171
Kentucky	2,541	Texas	42,056
Louisiana	11,704	Utah	1,129
Maine	270	Vermont	210
Maryland	16,328	Virginia	2,720
Massachusetts	8,105	Washington	16,215
Michigan	150,630	West Virginia	127
Minnesota	139,148	Wisconsin	173,983
Mississippi	599	Wyoming	3,999
Missouri	102,526	Outside the U.S.	76,130
Montana	8,139		1,694,024
Nebraska	70,975		

*Adapted from Statistical Year Book. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1948. p. 141.



Map 2. Distribution of baptized membership of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod by States in 1948

In the Western Hemisphere the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod is represented in each of the forty-eight states, in six provinces of Canada, in Alaska, Mexico, Cuba, Guatemala, Panama, the Hawaiian Islands, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

Foreign mission work is carried on in India, China, Mexico, South America, Africa, Europe, Japan, New Guinea, the Philippines, England, and Iraq.

The educational system of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod comprises a group of seminaries (six in foreign mission fields for the training of a native clergy, and three in the United States: Thiensville, Wisconsin, Springfield, Illinois, and St. Louis, Missouri), and ten preparatory colleges, the majority of which are co-educational. These colleges (all junior colleges) are located at Fort Wayne, Indiana, St. Paul, Minnesota, Concordia, Missouri, Bronxville, New York, Winfield, Kansas, Portland, Oregon, Oakland, California, and Edmonton, Canada. A Lutheran university, owned and operated by an association of Lutherans, is located at Valparaiso, Indiana.

The budget of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod for 1950 calls for over four million dollars for educational purposes, mission work, and various miscellaneous items.

PRESENTATION OF DATA

The pattern of English language acceptance in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod may be presented schematically similar to William Tudor's graphic presentation of the Variable-Sequence theory of social change.[1] Pictured graphically the pattern of English language acceptance in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod appears as follows:

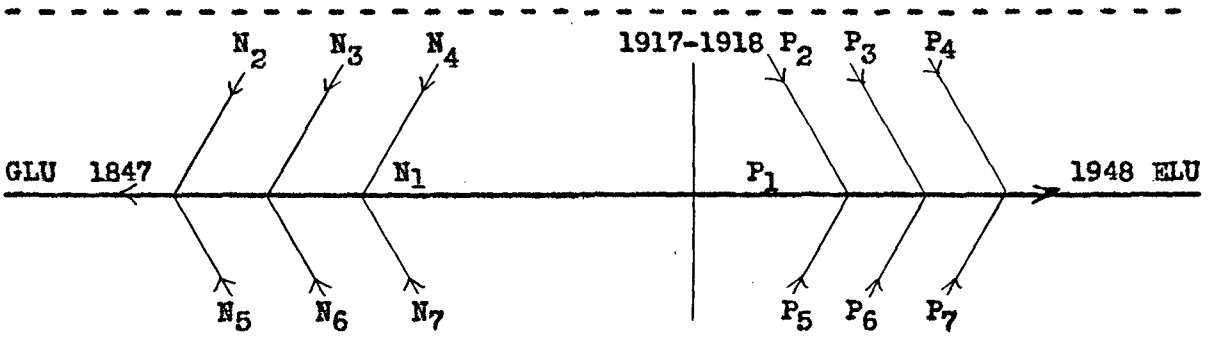


Figure 1. Diagram of the pattern of English language acceptance in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod*

GLU	German language usage	ELU	English language usage
N_1	Major negative factor	P_1	Major positive factor
N_2 to N_7	Secondary negative factors	P_2 to P_7	Secondary positive factors

The functioning of this scheme in relation to the acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod may be illustrated

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[1] Tudor, William J. op. cit., p. 4.

*While the change in language usage is diagrammed here as a straight line it is recognized that the operation of the various N and P factors altered the direction of the change, making a straight line impossible. It is also recognized that the N factors did not cease to operate after the close of the first World War and that the P factors operated also before 1917.

as follows. In the analysis here, GLU stands for German language usage and ELU for English language usage. N_1 represents the dominant factor operating for German language usage prior to 1917. N_1 represents the surge of German immigration from Europe between 1847 and 1900 which played the dominant role in maintaining German usage in the Lutheran Church, at least until 1900. N_2 to N_7 are secondary negative factors operating for the maintenance of German usage in the church. They include the resistances to English language usage arising from the conservative nature of the Lutheran Church, ethnocentric attitudes, inability on the part of the members of the church to understand English, pastors trained in German and therefore more proficient in that language, children of the church confirmed in German, inertia and indifference on the part of the church's membership, and the like. P_1 represents the dominant factor operating for English usage after 1917-1918. P_1 represents the first World War which, fostering hostility against anything German, directly or indirectly forced many congregations to employ the English language in its worship services. P_2 to P_7 represent secondary positive factors operating for English language usage, such as mission expansion, mixed marriages, increasing Americanization of immigrant Germans and their children, English trained pastors, children and adult confirmations in English, the English District, the second World War, and the like.

While the pattern of English language acceptance in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod is not measurable in its entirety, due to lack of data especially with reference to individual attitudes and various types of resistances, a number of indices (language employed in church services,

language used at official meetings of the church, attendance at German and English church services, subscription lists of German and English church periodicals) are employed to show the direction, time, and areas of English language acceptance.

In the following pages, the presentation and analysis of the data relevant to language usage in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod will be given. This presentation and analysis will reveal the adequacy of the pattern of change portrayed in the theoretical framework already discussed.

Acceptance of the English Language at the Beginning of Synod's History

The number of congregations which employed the use of the English language in religious services was negligible until 1900. Before 1900 the church did its work almost exclusively in German. English preaching was the exception and not the rule during the early history of the church.[1] German usage prevailed because the founding fathers were Germans, the people who constituted the membership of the church's congregations were Germans, and their ministers had been trained for their work in the German language. To employ a language other than German under such circumstances would not have been in keeping with the nature and necessity of things. The people needed the German language. Many of the ministers did not know how to use another language.

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[1] Baepler, W. A. A Century of Grace. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1948. p. 190.

The church did not express an interest in English usage until the church had expanded considerably. Missionary opportunities among English-speaking people made the church aware of the necessity of training its clergy in English as well as in German, but in terms of large-scale interest in the English language, there was none. Later, however, when the growth of the church depended more and more upon accessions by adult confirmation from English-speaking people, the church began to use English more and more.

The picture so far reveals a typical institution of society in the period of incipient organization. A religious need arose which prompted a group of Germans to leave Europe for America where they felt this need could be met. Common cause led them to emigrate in a group and to make their home in America in a chosen area. As a group they purchased land, built homes, churches and schools. Buttressed by strong ties of nationality, family, language and religion, the German immigrants, in their new location, not yet greatly affected by mobility or contact, maintained the essential ingredients of the culture they brought with them. They had a settled culture, characterized by consistency and unity, untouched by "culture shock". Cultural habits are not dissolved suddenly; breakdowns in the folkways, mores, and customs of a people are seldom mass movements. They occur gradually and are dependent upon the relative strength of the respective culture. Considerable and intense cultural contact is necessary before the mixing process takes place.

Isolation and segregation enabled the German immigrants to maintain the use of the German language during the early history of their existence in the United States. Further immigration of Germans from Germany strengthened

their cultural position and retarded the acceptance of the English language. Functionaries, coming from Germany to serve the newly-founded church in the United States, helped to maintain German usage.

English Language Acceptance from 1882 to 1919

The trend of the transition from German to English begins to unfold between 1882 and 1919. Upon the conclusion of the first World War the increasing use of English in religious services and official meetings of the church becomes more and more apparent. Between 1882 and 1900 the rate of increase of English usage is not large, but a large increase appears after 1917, the year in which the United States enters the war against Germany. (Fig. 2, page 48). In 1917, 591 congregations used English in addition to German, but in 1920, two years after the close of the war, 2,676 congregations used English.

By 1900 the church had increased the number of its districts to thirteen (See Map 3, p. 49). Congregations numbered 1,883, and the number of souls totaled 628,240 (See Table 4, p. 51). While most of these congregations were located in the Midwest, a number of them were scattered throughout the rest of the country.

No records are available to show that prior to 1900 a large number of congregations had preaching services in English. In 1882, six of the 976 congregations of the church reported the use of some English (Table 3). This does not mean that no other congregations used English, but such usage is not reported. Five years later, in 1887, only eight congregations reported the use of the English language. While the number of congregations

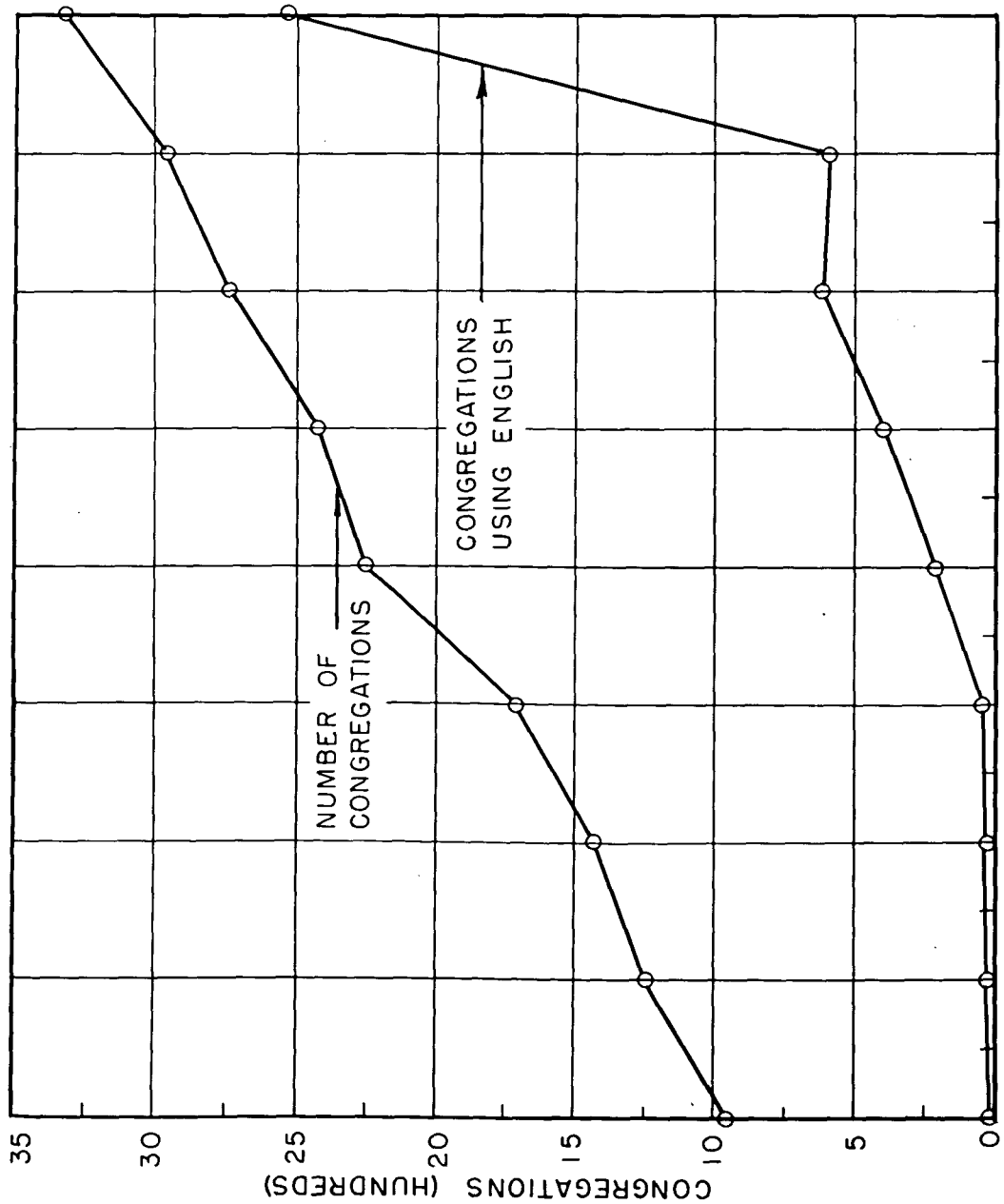
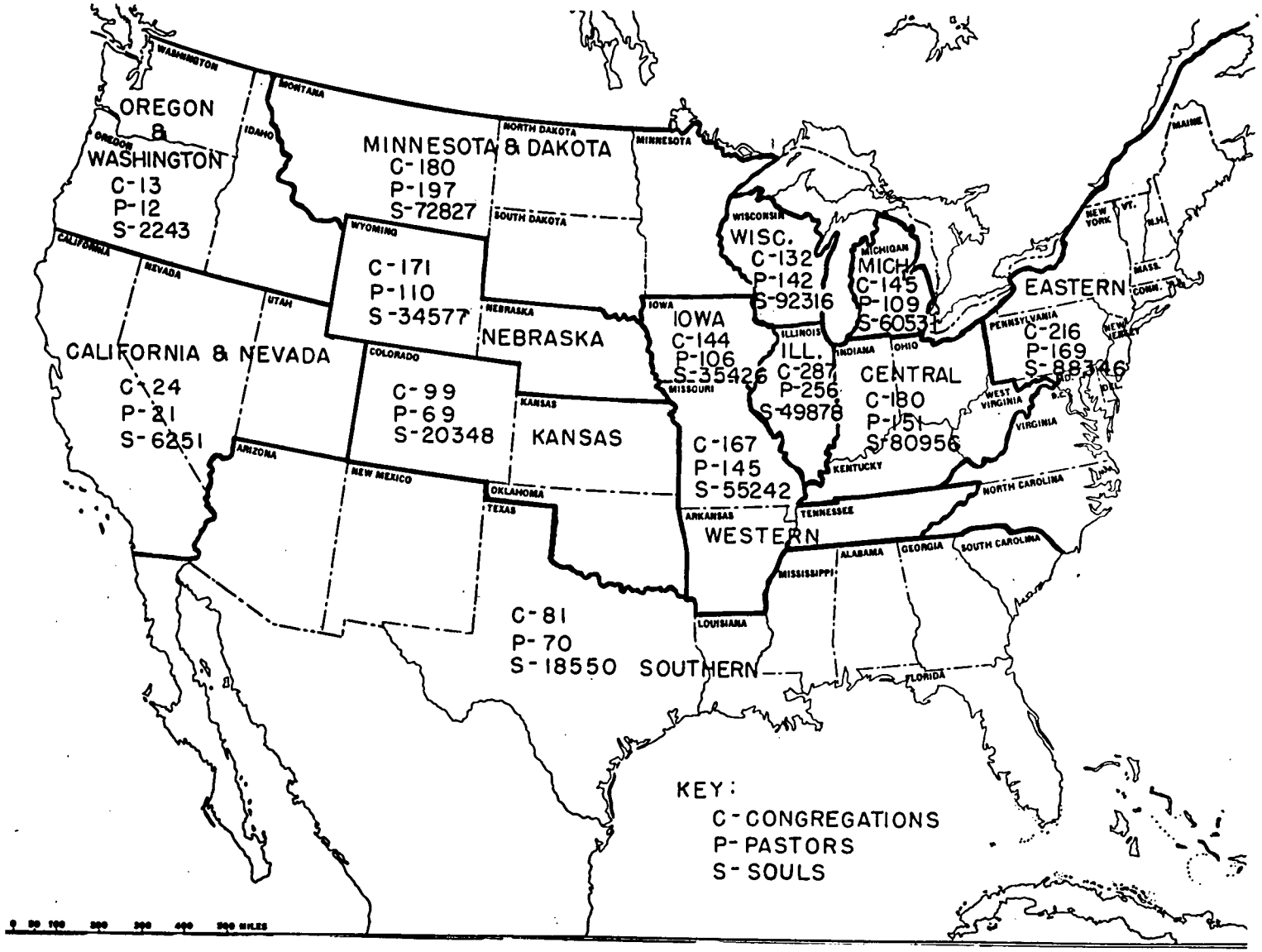


Fig.2 Lutheran Church Missouri Synod congregations using English language, 1882 - 1920



Map 3. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod districts in the United States and Canada in 1900

increased from 976 to 1,715 between 1882 and 1897, the number of congregations using the English language increased only from six to twenty-four.

Table 3. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations using English language - 1882 to 1920*

Year	Number of congregations	Using English
1882	976	6
1887	1,227	8
1892	1,479	12
1897	1,715	24
1902	2,253	206
1907	2,486	385
1912	2,756	610
1917	2,966	591
1920	3,391	2,676

*Arranged from Statistical Year Book. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1928.

Table 4. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod districts in the United States and Canada in 1900*

District	Congregations	Pastors	Souls
California and Nevada	24	21	6,251
Central	180	151	80,956
Eastern	216	169	88,346
Illinois	287	256	49,878
Iowa	144	106	35,426
Michigan	145	109	60,531
Minnesota and Dakota	180	197	72,827
Nebraska	171	110	34,577
Oregon and Washington	13	12	2,243
Southern	81	70	18,550
Western	167	145	55,242
Wisconsin	132	142	92,316
Canada	44	24	10,749
	1,883	1,581	628,240

*Arranged from Graebner, T. The Story of Our Church in America. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1940. p. 15.

From the beginning and throughout its history, but especially between 1857 and 1897 the church experienced a phenomenal growth. The first decade of the church's history shows a membership increase of 400%. The second decade shows an increase of 275%. Between 1877 and 1887 the synod experienced a 276% increase in membership(Table 5)(See also Figure 3, p. 53).

Table 5. Growth of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod by decades 1847 to 1947*

Year	Souls	Percent Increase
1847	4,099	-
1857	20,501	400
1867	73,106	257
1877	122,177	67
1887	459,376	276
1897	685,334	49
1907	838,646	22
1917	1,001,380	19
1927	1,106,745	11
1937	1,322,466	20
1947	1,639,337	24

*Adapted from Statistical Year Book. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1948. p. 148.

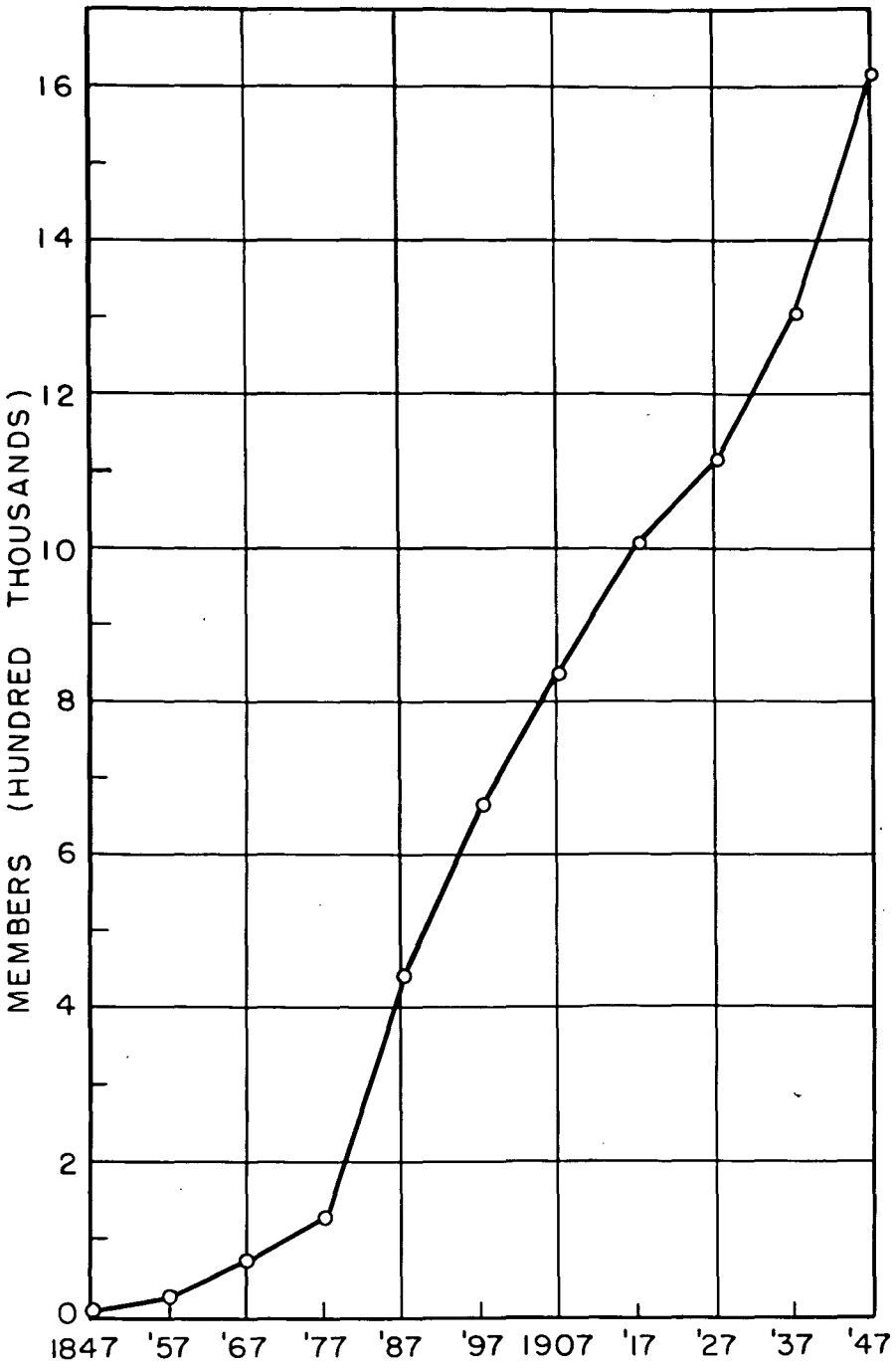


Fig. 3 Growth of Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod by decades, 1847 - 1947

Most of this increase came from further immigration of Germans from Germany. Since the church prior to 1900 concentrated its attention upon gathering into congregations German-speaking immigrants from Europe, it did not stress the use of the English language in its work, nor was there reason, from the standpoint of the church's immediate task, for doing so.

Table 3 (p. 50) shows that in 1917 only 591 congregations in the church used the English language. By 1920 this number had increased to 2,676. While the church was still 60% German in 1920, the trend in the direction of more English is consistent.

One of the forces which brought about this sudden and large increase in English usage was a force outside the church itself. This force was the attitude of the Government and of the people toward anything German. During the war propagandists did a good job of raising a fearful and vicious hate for anything German in the minds of the people. In the small towns of the country especially, where associations among people are generally more intimate, feelings of hatred ran high and often grew into actual violence. In some States the feeling ran so high that the Government yielded to pressure groups and passed laws prohibiting the use of German in the churches and in schools.

In California a number of bills were introduced to abolish the use of the German language in public and private schools. An amendment confining the teaching of the German language to colleges, however, was lost. Bill No. 311 provided that all instruction in private schools be given in the English language. Bill No. 191 prohibited the use of any foreign language in any religious or sectarian meeting, excepting only the

ritualistic portion (liturgy) of the church services.[1]

In Ohio, House-bill No. 15 contained these provisions: Common school branches in any public, private, or parochial school had to be taught through the medium of English. Other languages than the English language could be taught in such schools, but only as an addition or auxiliary to the English language. The Legislature in this State sometime later passed a law which prohibited the teaching of the German language in any private and parochial school of the State.[2]

In Nebraska the Council of Defense in 1918 requested that all schools using the German language discontinue doing so. The anti-German feeling is reflected in an editorial of the Pittsburg Chronicle-Telegraph of May 3, 1918:

> But there are signs of coming reform. Some of Nebraska's Hun-Americans are due for a rude shock. "Under a new law teachers of German must obtain a special permit from the State Council of Defense". German is to be no longer a professed subject of study. "There has been a sudden demandfor tar and feathers". The Council of Defence is urging good citizens not to take the law into their own hands, but to report all cases of alleged disloyalty to the authorities. However, even those who have the least sympathy with mob methods must agree that unless the Federal authorities are aroused to more vigorous action, "we may hear of worse cases of violence than have yet been reported from Nebraska".[3]

In 1919 the Legislature of Nebraska passed a bill forbidding the use of foreign languages under any circumstances in any elementary school.

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[1] Lutheran Witness, April 15, 1919, p. 117.

[2] Ibid., February 18, 1919, p. 52.

[3] Ibid., May 28, 1918, p. 164.

In South Dakota the Council of Defence issued an order forbidding the use of the German language in religious services. When the pastors of the Lutheran Church at Armour, South Dakota, had the opportunity to state their case and to explain conditions and requirements of their parishes, a mob entered the meeting and staged such a violent demonstration that the sheriff had to clear the meeting room, and the Council under duress yielded to the mob's pressure and forbade the use of the German language. The Governor of the State later, however, issued a proclamation disbanding the State Council of Defence and all County Councils of Defence. He also rescinded all orders previously issued concerning the use of the German language in churches and Sunday Schools.[1]

The first World War unquestionably accelerated the trend toward an increasing use of the English language in the church. Willingly or unwillingly, more and more congregations began to conduct services in English. The next period of the church's history (1920-1948) shows an even stronger trend toward the use of more English and culminates finally in a language ratio that is overwhelmingly English.

English Language Acceptance from 1920 to 1948

The anti-German sentiment did not disappear after the conclusion of World War I. The generation growing up in the church at this time was no longer under the influence of the German language as previous generations had been. In the homes of the people, English replaced German. In their

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[1] South Dakota District Proceedings, 1918, p. 82.

daily affairs, in schools, on the street, in stores, offices and factories, the people used English. Many were more familiar with English than with German, although they still used a great deal of German in the church. Not a few received instructions for confirmation in the language of their fathers. Nevertheless, 2,676 of the church's 3,391 congregations in 1920 used a certain amount of English, and 591 of them used English exclusively. A larger number, 726, employed only German, and 960 used more German than English at this time, but the trend had begun and it could not be stopped. In 1925, 4,008 of the church's 4,431 congregations used a certain amount of English. In 1945 only 33 congregations remained which did not employ the English language to some extent, and by 1948 this number declined to 16 (Table 6).

Table 6. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations reporting use of English from 1920 to 1948

Year	Number of congregations	Using English
1920	3,391	2,676
1925	4,431	4,008
1930	4,751	4,460
1935	5,147	4,953
1940	5,493	5,399
1945	5,488	5,455
1948	5,772	5,756

In 1925 the percentage of English for the first time in the church's history became greater than the percentage of German (Table 7). In this year only 423 congregations used German exclusively in religious services while the number of those using only English rose to 905. This trend toward more and more English continued during the next five years so that in 1930, 291 congregations used only German, and 1,368 used only English. By 1935 the "all-German" congregations numbered 194, and the "all-English" congregations numbered 1,711. The ratio of English to German in 1935 was 64-36. In 1940 only 94 congregations used German exclusively, whereas 2,402 congregations used only English. By 1948 the vast majority of congregations in the church employed only English in their services. Only 16 congregations in 1948 still used German exclusively and 15 congregations used more German than English.

Table 7. Language usage in Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations from 1920 to 1948*

Year	All German	More German than English	Half & Half	More English than German	All English	Percent English ***
1920	726	960	819	245	469	40
1925	423	721	1,205	610	905	52
1930	291	476	1,328	764	1,368	58
1935	194	315	1,305	935	1,711	64
1940	94	135	1,085	782	2,402	72
1945	51	56	630	670	4,038	86
1948	16	15	--**	--**	4,425	92

*For language proportions in the individual districts of the church, see Appendix, pp.

**Data unavailable

***Percentage of congregations employing English in religious services.

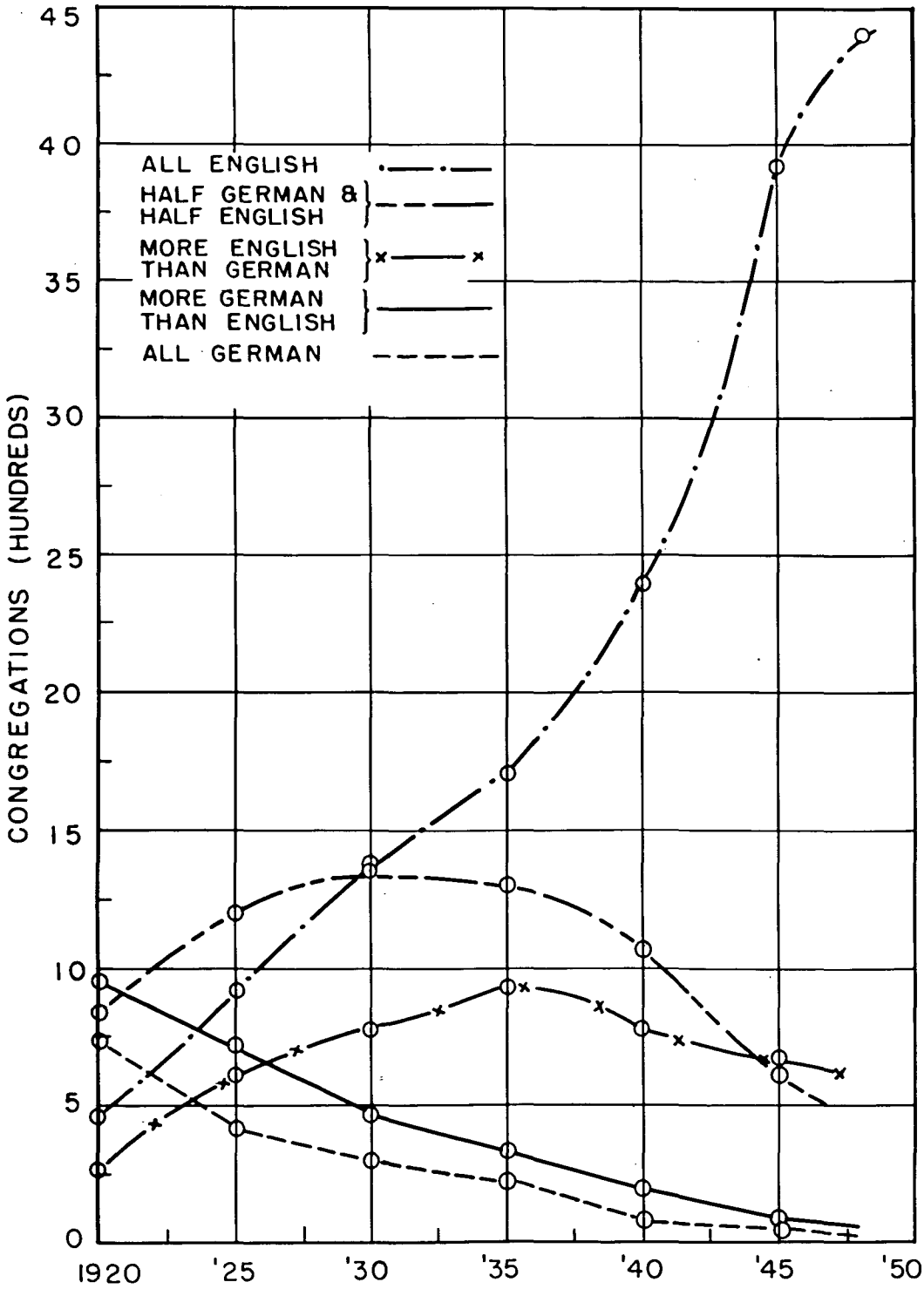

Fig. 4 Language usage in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod from 1920 to 1948.

Figure 4, page 59, shows an "all-English" curve that is consistently perpendicular for the 1920 to 1948 period. Half German and half English usage shows a curve of the more normal type. Preaching in both languages as a method of meeting the language needs of the people reached its peak employment from 1930 to 1935. As English increasingly became the sole medium of expression in religious services, the half and half usage experienced a sharp decrease. Congregations using all German or more German than English during this period declined consistently until, in 1948, the number still employing German exclusively or predominately, became negligible.

For the church as a whole, from the standpoint of the number of services conducted, 1924 is the year in which the congregations first employed as much English as German (Figure 5, p. 61). From this time on the English proportion became increasingly greater, and the German proportion increasingly smaller. By 1948 the church as a whole was 92% English in terms of language employed in religious services, and only 8% German. From the year 1918, when the editor of the church's Statistical Yearbook for the first time requested data on the language question, English usage more than kept pace with the growing membership of the church. In 1918, when the church numbered 1,000,000 souls, 40% of these members received their services in the English language. Ten years later, when the church numbered almost 1,200,000 souls, 58% of these were served in English. By 1938, when the membership of the church had increased by another 100,000, 72% attended services in the English language. In 1948, when the membership of the church rose to over 1,600,000, 92% of the religious services were in English.

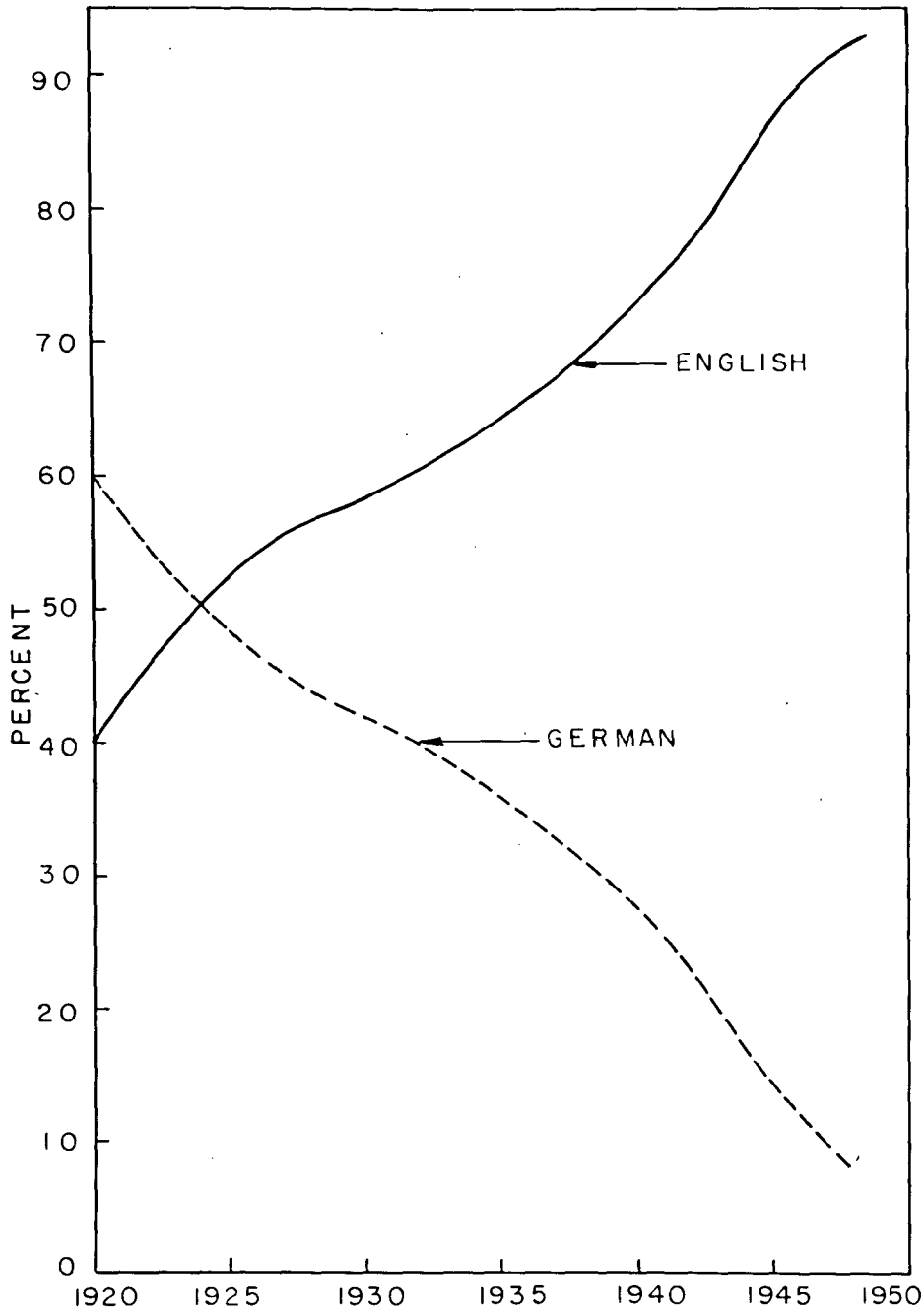

FIGURE 5- PERCENTAGE OF GERMAN AND ENGLISH IN LUTHERAN CHURCH - MISSOURI SYNOD CONGREGATIONS FROM 1920 TO 1948.

The language preference of the members of the church during the period 1920 to 1948 is shown also by the subscription lists of the church's official periodicals, the Lutheran Witness and the Lutheraner (Table 8). The increases and decreases of subscriptions to the official periodicals of the church were not constant, but the figures clearly show the direction of the language change.

Table 8. Subscription lists of official church periodicals of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod from 1910 to 1948*

Year	Subscriptions to Lutheran Witness	Subscriptions to Lutheraner
1910	--	35,000
1912	12,000	--
1915	--	40,000
1919	80,000	--
1923	28,000	36,000
1930	30,500	27,500
1934	34,000	--
1940	88,000	22,000
1948	312,000	25,500

*Schroeder, A. St. Louis, Mo. Information on subscription lists of church periodicals. (Private communication). 1950.

The German paper, the Lutheraner began publication in 1844. The Lutheran Witness had been established in 1882, but it did not become an official organ of the church until 1911 when the English Synod affiliated

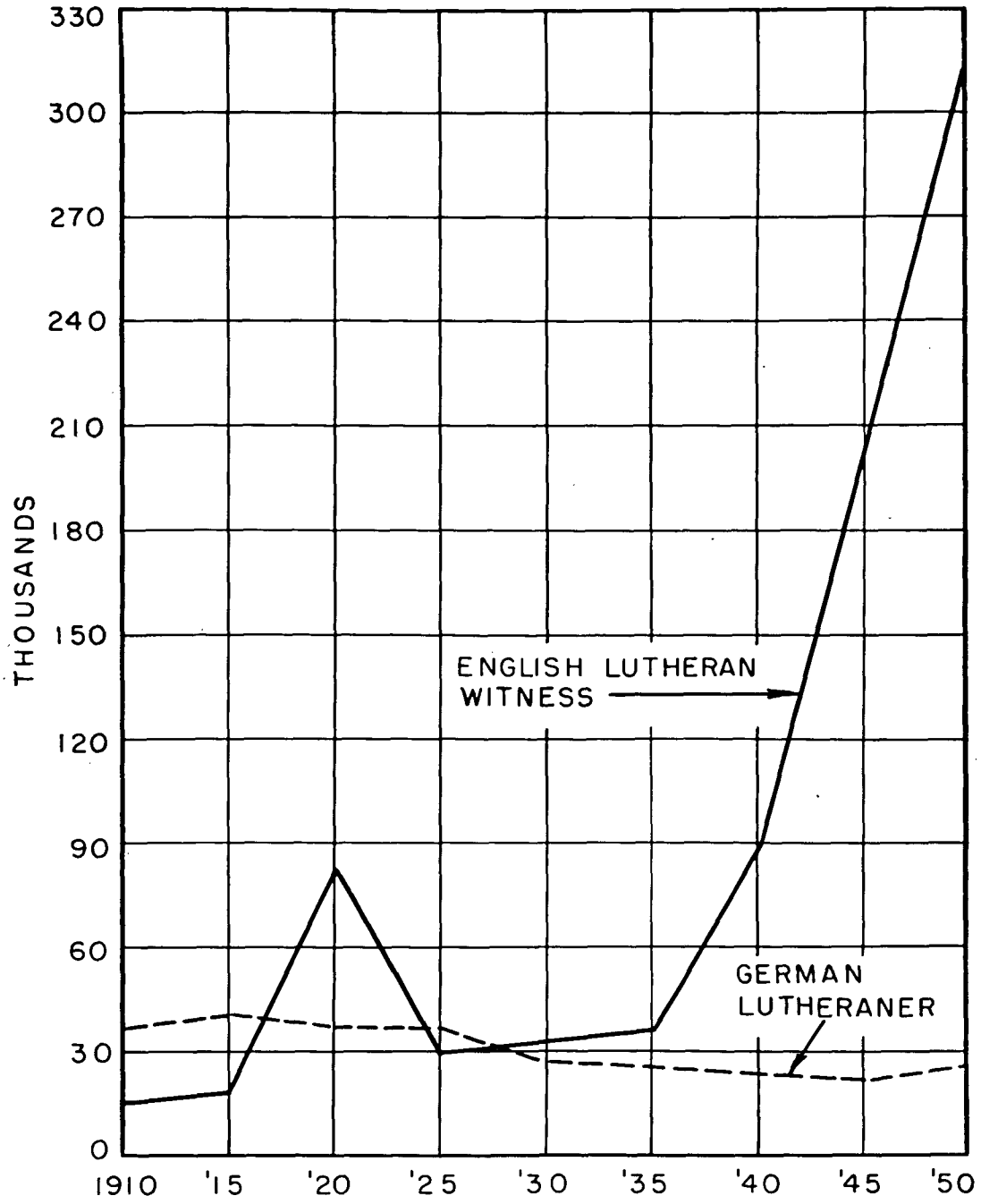

Fig. 6 Subscription lists of official periodicals of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, 1910 to 1948.

with the larger synodical organization. The Lutheraner subscription list reached its peak in 1915. The sudden upsurge in 1919 of Lutheran Witness subscriptions was due not only to the war, but to a drive for more subscriptions to the periodical by the Lutheran Laymen's League.[1] The decline in subscriptions to both papers during the thirties resulted from economic conditions of the time. The upsurge again in the forties, (Figure 6, p. 63) came from the increasing custom among districts of the church to have congregations make use of the congregation-wide subscription plan whereby every member of the congregation receives a copy of the periodical of his choice and the subscription cost is paid from the congregational treasury. In spite of this favorable arrangement, however, the number of subscribers to the German organ, the Lutheraner, remains proportionately small. This reflects the language preference of the members of the congregations.

Language Usage During the Decade 1937 to 1947

A comparison between German usage in 1937 and German usage in 1947 reveals a definite decline (Table 9, p. 65). In 1937 the majority of congregations in almost every district employed the German language in addition to English, but ten years later no district reported even half of its congregations using German in addition to English. The rapid decline in the use of the German language throughout the church in this decade is

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[1] A men's organization in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod pledged to assist the church especially in financial matters.

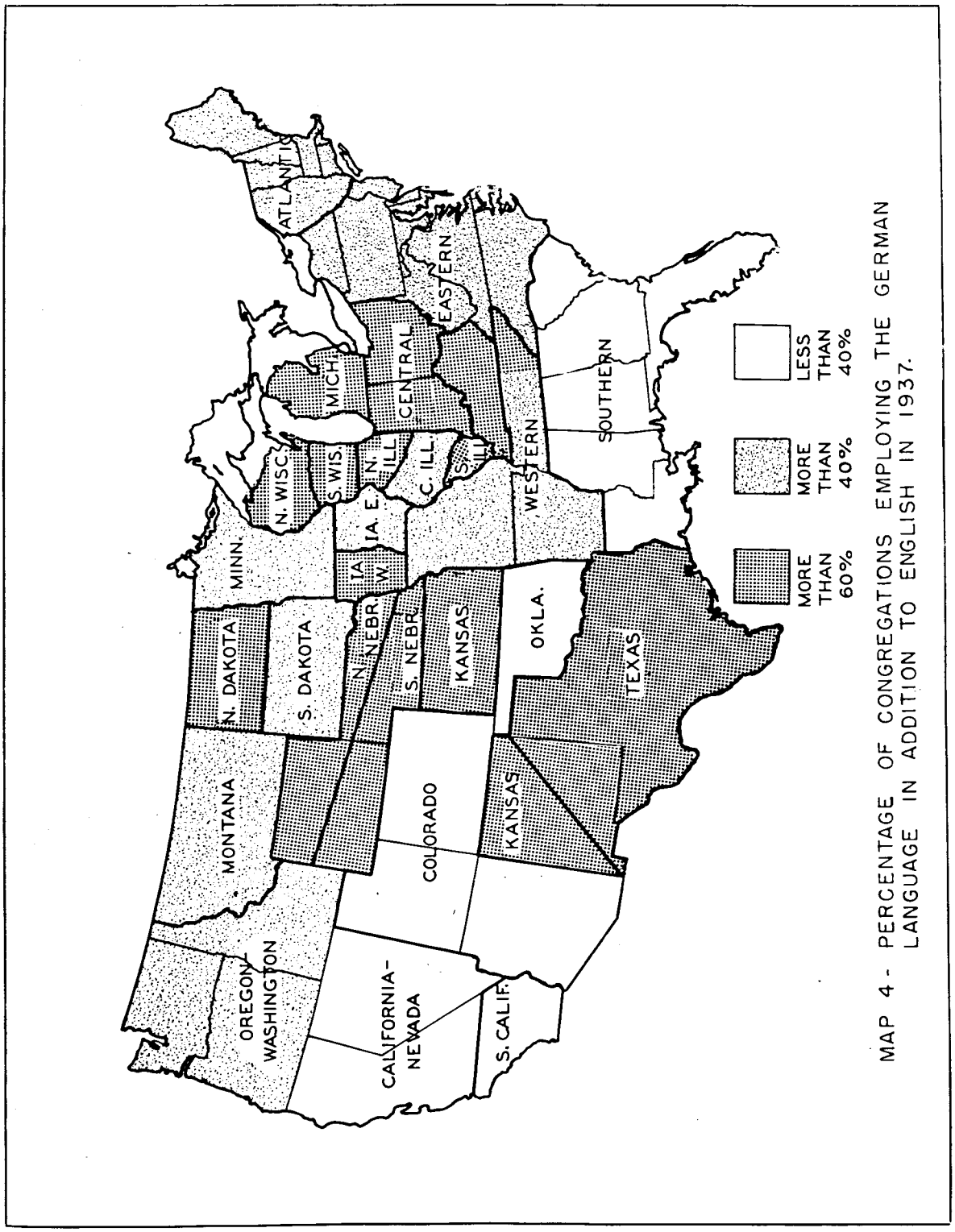
Table 9. Percentage of congregations employing the German language in addition to English in 1937 and 1947

District	Percent German 1937	Percent German 1947
Atlantic	59	30
California-Nevada	29	6
Central	60	8
Central Illinois	50	15
Colorado	28	3
Eastern	59	26
Iowa West	61	8
Iowa East	52	20
Kansas	67	13
Michigan	63	35
Minnesota	54	31
Montana	54	14
North Dakota	61	32
North Wisconsin	52	35
Northern Illinois	79	45
Northern Nebraska	60	20
Oklahoma	29	9
Oregon Washington	40	1
South Dakota	57	15
South Wisconsin	78	44
Southeastern	—	15
Southern	7	1
Southern California	35	3
Southern Illinois	65	30
Southern Nebraska	63	14
Texas	61	14
Western	50	17

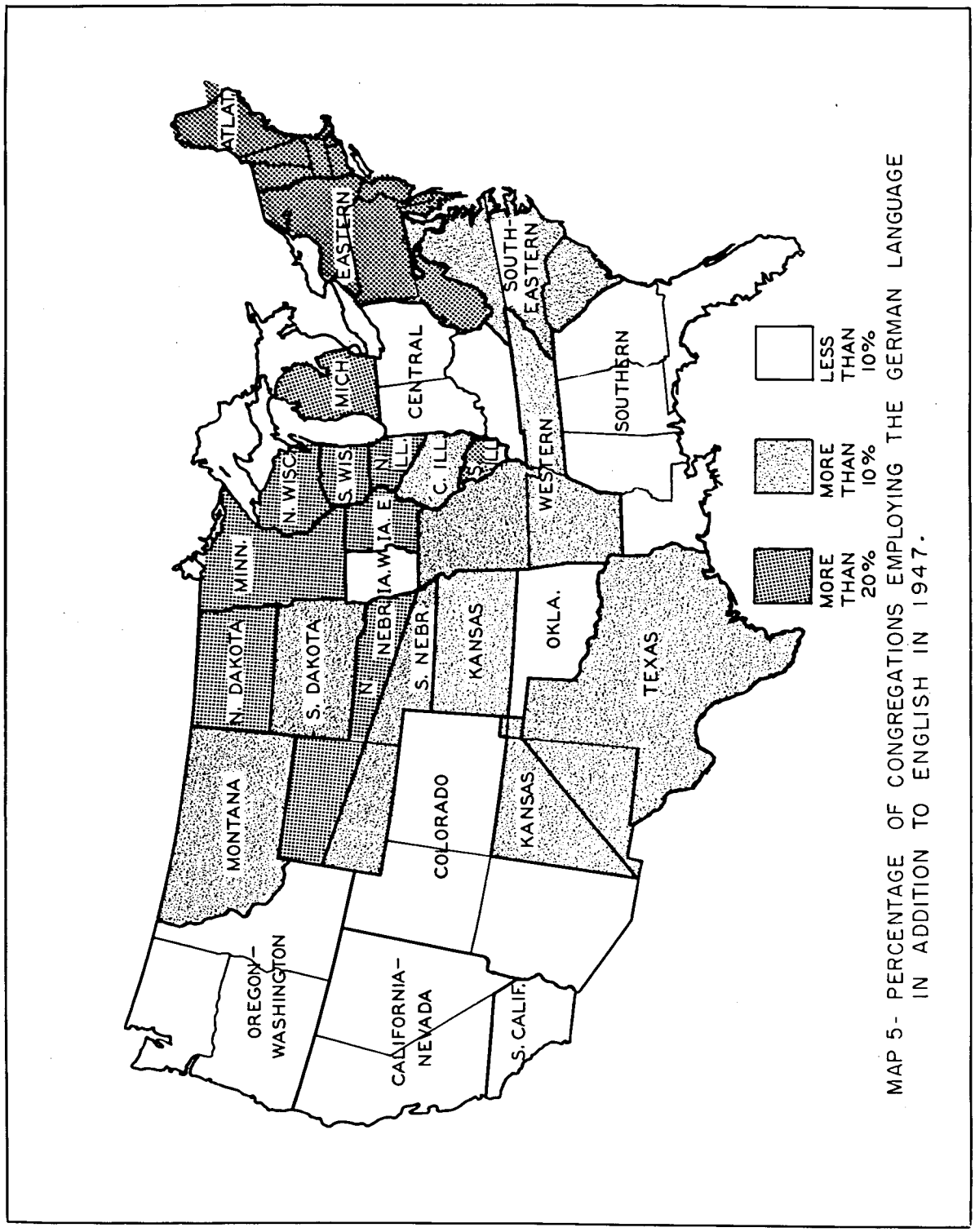
apparent. During this period every district, without exception, not only made more use of English, but declined sharply in the use of the German language as well. During this decade some of the districts declined in their use of the German language by more than 50%. The Kansas District led all other districts in making more use of English. In 1937, 67% of the congregations in the Kansas District still used some German, but in 1947 only 13% of its congregations still used German. Similar in this respect were the Iowa West, Central, Southeran Nebraska, and Texas districts.

The middle of the 1937-1947 decade marked the entrance of the United States into the second great war against Germany. While none of the congregations of the church had to bear the brunt of the kind of ill-feeling many congregations of the Lutheran Church experienced during the first World War, the older generation, conscious of the harm that a repetition of such events might bring to the church, hastened to recommend the complete discontinuance of the German language as a medium of expression in religious worship.

It is interesting to note the areas of German language dominance. Maps 4 and 5 (p. 67 and 68) show that in 1937 the use of the German language declined in some of the western States, such as California, Colorado, Oklahoma, Oregon, Washington, Montana and South Dakota. Except for Texas, this was true also of the southern States. The eastern States, and several in the midwest also show a decreasing use of the German language, but in all other areas, more congregations used German or a combination of German and English than they used English exclusively. The area of German language



MAP 4 - PERCENTAGE OF CONGREGATIONS EMPLOYING THE GERMAN LANGUAGE IN ADDITION TO ENGLISH IN 1937.



MAP 5- PERCENTAGE OF CONGREGATIONS EMPLOYING THE GERMAN LANGUAGE IN ADDITION TO ENGLISH IN 1947.

dominance in 1937 was the Central States area, especially in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois. In 1947 the same pattern of German usage prevailed, but the German language was no longer dominant in any State or in any district of the church. Only a few of the districts of the church (North Dakota, Minnesota, North Wisconsin, South Wisconsin, Northern Illinois, Iowa East, Southern Illinois, Michigan, Northern Nebraska, Eastern and Atlantic) show more than a 20% use of the German language. The majority of the congregations in every State in 1947 used English exclusively more than they used either German or German-English exclusively.[1]

The stronghold of the membership inclined to prefer some use of the German language in services of worship in 1947 was in the Midwestern and Central States area. This is the area in which the majority of Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations are located, and where the sites of the oldest congregations of the church are found.

A comparison between the date of organization of congregations and language usage reveals that those congregations organized before 1900 tend to make more use of the German language than those congregations organized after 1900 (Table 10).

The areas of the United States where the congregations of the church make only a slight use of German in addition to English (Cp. maps 4 and 5, pp. 67 and 68) coincide with the areas where the majority of congregations were organized before 1900. States such as California, Oregon, Washington, Oklahoma, show that only a very small percentage of the congregations located

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[1] Data on the number of congregations in each State using the English language in religious services for the years 1920-1940, see Appendix, pp. 123-141.

Table 10. Percentage of congregations in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod of various States organized before 1900*

State	Number of Congregations	Organized before 1900	Percent
California	183	13	7
Illinois	451	261	55
Michigan	284	129	45
Minnesota	424	181	42
Montana	49	3	6
Nebraska	263	133	50
Iowa	252	127	50
Oregon	49	7	14
New York	184	78	42
Texas	179	45	24
Wisconsin	378	210	55
Oklahoma	56	6	10
Pennsylvania	64	25	39
Washington	58	3	5
Wyoming	21	2	9

*Includes representative States from each section of the country.

in these areas were organized before 1900. Only 7% of the congregations in California were organized before 1900. In Oklahoma only 10% of the congregations were organized before 1900. On the other hand, the areas of German language dominance, where a large number of congregations still employ the German language in addition to English in religious services, coincide with the areas where many of the congregations were organized prior to 1900. The data (Table 10, p. 70) show that in Illinois and Wisconsin, where congregations in comparison with others still employ a great amount of German, over half of the congregations were organized before 1900. States such as Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Nebraska, and Iowa contain a large number of congregations also organized before 1900, and these are the areas where the membership of the church still uses, in contrast with other areas in the United States, a large amount of German.

Edward Ross[1] once said that the young look at life from the point of view of opportunity while those who are past thirty tend to appraise it from the point of view of security. The young are critical of existing institutions; the middle-aged and old are conservative and tend to do what they can to maintain the status quo.

The older congregations of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod tend to cling to the use of the German language the longest. They are the most conservative; they have the oldest traditions; they have the strongest social norms which are the result of past conditioning. Moreover, since

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[1] Ross, Edward A. op. cit. pp. 238-239.

the older congregations of the church are located in the midwest and central states area where the density of Lutheran congregations is the greatest, it is obvious that one congregation would support another congregation in its effort to maintain the German language. Ross says,

> A foreign language cocoons an ethnic group and keeps it alien. Americans have allowed groups of foreign-born thus to encyst themselves until there are young people born and educated in America who cannot understand or speak the English language.[1]

Individuals and institutions adapt themselves more easily and more readily to the existing environment when they make or are forced to make frequent contact with that environment. It is apparent that English environment played an important role in the language usage of congregations organized before 1900, especially in the western and southern parts of the United States where Lutheran congregations are more widely scattered than in the central and midwestern States. Much of the growth of the congregations in the South and West depended upon mission prospects of the community where people used the English language. Consequently, mission opportunities made the use of the English language in the work of the church more necessary.

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[1] Ibid., p. 337.

Language Acceptance Reflected by Church Attendance

The language ratio in the church in 1935 was 64% English and 36% German (Cp. Table 7, p. 58). This was in terms of the number of congregations making some use of German, much or little. How well the members of the congregations actually attended German services was not considered in the calculation. In terms of actual church attendance in 1935, the number of members attending German services was less than is indicated by the 64-36 ratio. In terms of actual church attendance the percentages were approximately 75% English and 25% German (Table 11, p. 74).

The total attendance at all services conducted in the German language in 1935 was 155,579, whereas the total attendance at services conducted in the English language in 1935 was 433,792 (See Table 11, page 74). For each person who attended a German service in 1935, three persons attended an English service.

This trend toward an increasing attendance by the members of the church at English services continued during the following five years, so that in 1940, 78% of the church's membership attended English services and 22% attended German services (Table 12, p. 75).

Records are not available to show what the proportion would be today, but the consistent trend toward increasing attendance at English services between 1935 and 1940, if maintained since then, would give a church attendance proportion of approximately 90% at English services and 10% at German services.

The church attendance data for 1935 and 1940 show that the attendance

Table 11. Church attendance at German and English services in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod in 1935*

District	Number of Congregations	Attendance	
		German	English
Atlantic	144	4,013	16,642
California and Nevada	76	991	4,481
Central	186	11,911	41,612
Central Illinois	105	5,247	18,137
Colorado	50	957	4,013
Eastern	136	3,668	18,087
Iowa	192	7,737	29,965
Kansas	123	7,738	15,829
Michigan	183	12,267	31,157
Minnesota	309	16,445	34,843
North Dakota and Montana	167	4,547	8,828
Northern Illinois	164	13,264	35,583
Northern Nebraska	110	5,343	13,654
North Wisconsin	193	9,885	23,270
Oklahoma	51	2,090	5,255
Oregon and Washington	100	1,407	7,884
South Dakota	101	3,143	7,167
Southern	75	300	3,961
Southern California	53	995	6,036
Southern Illinois	75	5,285	13,732
Southern Nebraska	119	8,605	17,935
South Wisconsin	105	9,231	21,332
Texas	130	8,721	14,613
Western	234	11,689	41,776
	3,181	155,579	433,792

*Arranged from Statistical Yearbook. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1935. pp. 152-153. These data include Sunday morning and evening and special services.

Table 12. Church attendance at German and English services in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod in 1940*

District	Proportion of Attendance	
	German Services	English Services
Atlantic	15%	85%
California and Nevada	14%	86%
Central	21%	79%
Central Illinois	18%	82%
Colorado	9%	91%
Eastern	10%	90%
English	100%	100%
Iowa East	17%	83%
Iowa West	12%	88%
Kansas	25%	75%
Michigan	22%	78%
Minnesota	27%	73%
North Dakota and Montana	29%	71%
Northern Illinois	24%	76%
Northern Nebraska	22%	78%
North Wisconsin	27%	73%
Oklahoma	19%	81%
Oregon and Washington	7%	93%
South Dakota	25%	75%
Southeastern	6%	94%
Southern	4%	96%
Southern California	10%	90%
Southern Illinois	29%	71%
Southern Nebraska	24%	76%
South Wisconsin	28%	72%
Texas	37%	63%
Western	22%	78%
	22%	78%

*Arranged from Statistical Yearbook. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1940. p. 182. Includes only Sunday morning services.

at German services was largest in those districts where the majority of Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations are located (Central and Midwestern States), and where a large percentage of the church's congregations were organized before 1900.

Relation of Adult Confirmation[1] to English Language Acceptance

It has been pointed out that during the early history of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synodo the influx of German immigrants from Europe was so great that the Missionaries of the church spent most of their time seeking to enroll these immigrants as members of the church or organizing them into congregations. Because these immigrants came, for the most part, from Germany, the work had to be done in the German language. But with the passing of time, during which the members of the church adapted themselves to the American way of life and increased the number of their contacts with English-speaking people, the immigrants and their children became more and more familiar with the English language. They learned to use the English language in business affairs; because their children received their education in the public schools in the English language, they began to use English more and more in their homes. Mixed marriages increased and this brought the necessity of giving instruction to English-speaking spouses in the language they could understand. Adult confirmations increased in every decade of the church's history (Table 13, p. 77). In

[1]It is the policy of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod to give detailed instruction in the fundamentals of the Christian Faith as taught by the church to persons who desire to affiliate with the church. By the rite of confirmation persons previously instructed are received into membership.

the period after the first World War, when English became the medium of expression in religious services at an ever-increasing rate, the number of adult confirmations rose to 43,235. This number almost doubled in the next decade, and again in the 1939-1948 period.

Table 13. Adult confirmations in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod from 1889 to 1948 by decades*

Decade	Adult Confirmations
1889-1898	2,208
1899-1908	4,271
1909-1918	9,036
1919-1928	43,235
1929-1938	80,464
1939-1948	155,055

*Arranged from Statistical Yearbook. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1948. p. 145.

An increase in adult confirmations would be expected in a rapidly expanding church body, but it is noteworthy that the time and size of the increase in adult confirmations in the church correspond very closely to the increasing use of the English language by the congregations which reported the adult confirmations (Cp. Fig. 4, p. 59). A comparison between the curve of adult confirmations in Figure 7, p. 78 and the curve of all English usage in Figure 4 reveals a close similarity. Consequently, a correlation may be assumed between the increasing use of English in the

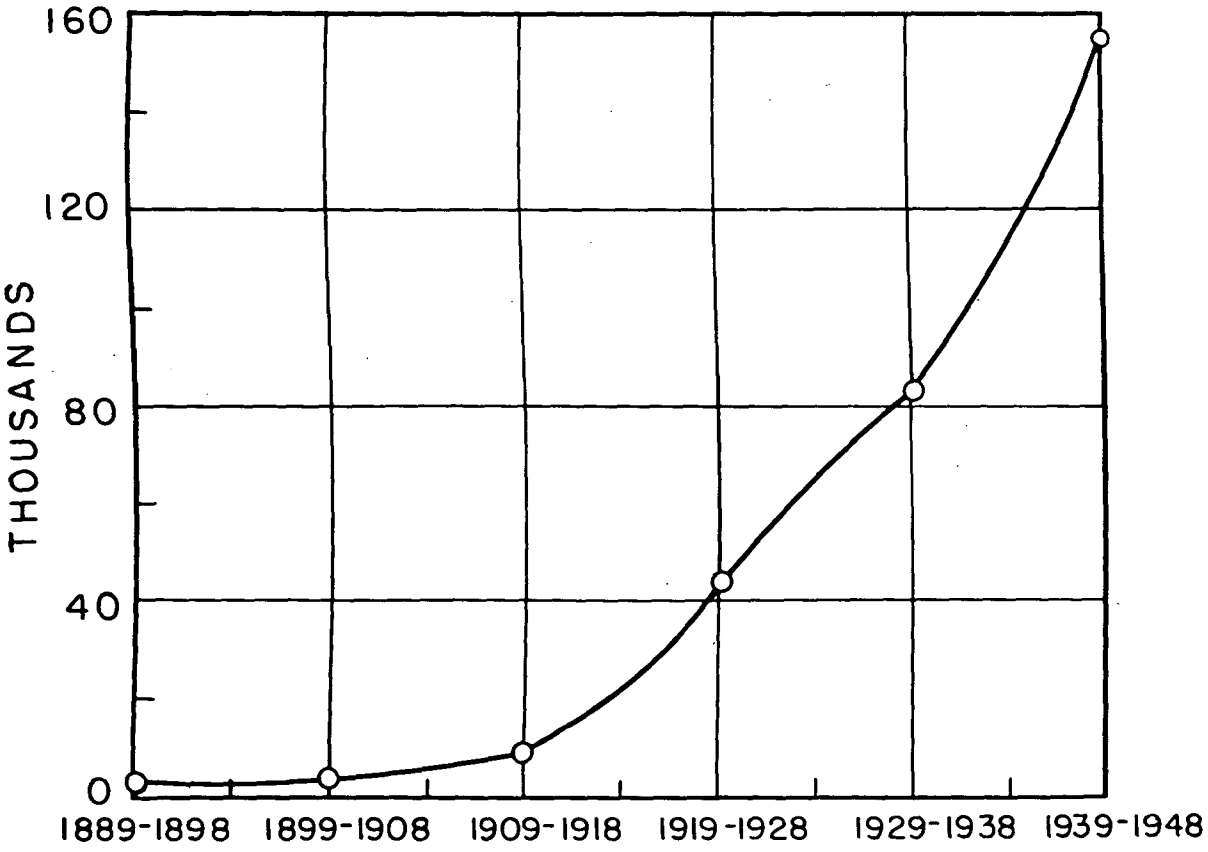

Fig. 7 Adult confirmations in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod from 1889 to 1948 by decades.

church and the number of adult confirmations. This, however, does not imply a cause and effect relationship that can be identified. One cannot definitely assert that the increasing number of adult confirmations brought about an increasing use of the English language in the services and work of the church, nor can one positively declare that the increasing use of the English language in the church brought about an increasing number of adult confirmations. Many other factors were involved. The significance of these data on adult confirmations in the church, as well as of the data on language usage in church services, church periodical preferences, church attendance, is that they reflect the processes of cultural adaptation and assimilation. Of course, these processes did not operate perfectly, for,

> Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a cultural life.[1]

But the processes had begun to operate. Acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod shows that the social distance between the Germans and Americans is disappearing, and that the trend toward unity is becoming more complete.

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[1] Park, R. E. and Burgess, E. W. Introduction to the Science of Sociology. Chicago, Ill. University of Chicago Press. 1921. p. 735.

Acceptance of the English Language in Individual Districts of the Church

Acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod during the initial period of its history in the United States was slow. The conservative nature of the church, ethnocentric attitudes, the flow of immigrants from Germany, German-trained pastors, inability to use and understand English, confirmations in the German language, and the like, retarded the acceptance of the English language in the work of the church. In 1917 the United States entered the war against Germany. At this time many congregations willingly or unwillingly made greater use of the English language. The first World War was the most significant factor in the transition from German to English usage in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod. In addition, missionary expansion of the church, particularly in the South and in the West, increasing Americanization of immigrant Germans and their children, English-trained pastors, adult confirmations and confirmation of children in English, and the second World War, made a more general acceptance of the English language in the work of the church possible and necessary. While a considerable number of German services were still reported in 1935, the examination of church attendance in that year revealed that the members of the church who attended services preferred English by a ratio of four to one.

It is now our purpose to reduce the universe of investigation and to examine the pattern of English language acceptance in the various districts of the church. The investigation will determine when each district began to take an interest in the use of the English language, when it made English

the official language of its meetings, what activities and resolutions indicate a growing use of English within the district, what opposition, if any, was directed against the increasing use of English, and how the district ranked in terms of English usage with the other districts of the church. The investigation will show that the pattern of English language acceptance in the districts follows closely the pattern of English language acceptance in the church as a whole.

Atlantic:[1] In 1912 the Atlantic District (comprising the States of New York, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island) had 20 subsidized congregations, seven of which conducted services in the English language. One year later, 15 of the 23 subsidized congregations used English. All of these congregations had German services also. By 1920 when the district had 135 congregations, only 13 of these still conducted services wholly in German, and 46% of the services were in English. Of the 135 congregations, 23 used English exclusively. In 1925, when the district had 154 congregations, only 10 still employed German exclusively in religious services, and 25 used English exclusively. The ratio for the district as a whole, however, was still the same as in 1920, 46% English and 54% German. By 1930 the ratio changed to 60% English and 40% German. Only 6 congregations still used German exclusively, and 40 congregations used English exclusively. By 1935 the ratio of English increased to 65% and only one congregation used only German in religious services. By 1940 all the congregations of the district used English and the ratio of English

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[1] The data employed here in the description of the developments in the various districts of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod with regard to language usage were taken from official District Proceedings and statistics from various issues of the Statistical Yearbook. See especially Table 12, p. 75.

in the district went up to 71%. Of the 171 congregations of the district in 1945, only 55 still employed some German in religious services.

The increasing use of English in religious services of the congregations brought about changes in the official language of the district. In 1922 the district changed its seal to English. In 1924 English became the official language of the district. Both languages were permitted on the convention floor, and reports and memorials were to be printed in both languages. By 1928 the demand for German editions of the district convention Proceedings was so small that it was decided to discontinue the printing of a bilingual edition. According to the number of congregations using English, the district ranked fifth in 1920, eight in 1925, seventh in 1930, eighth in 1935 and tenth in 1940 (See Table 14, p. 83).

California and Nevada: The percentage of English in this district in 1920 was slightly greater than the percentage of German, 52% and 48% respectively. Of the 63 congregations of the district, 13 used German exclusively while 22 congregations used only English. By 1925 every congregation of the District employed some English. For the district as a whole, 63% of the services were conducted in English. In 1922 the district refused to adopt a resolution that the English language be made the official language of the district. By 1930 the English ratio had increased to 65% and almost one-half of the congregations conducted services only in English. A further increase of English usage came in the following five years so that in 1935 72% of the services were conducted in English. By 1940 the English ratio had increased to 80%, and in 1948 only 6

Table 14. Districts of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod ranked according to English usage from 1920 to 1940

1920		1925		1930		1935		1940	
Rank	District	Rank	District	Rank	District	Rank	District	Rank	District
1	Southern	1	Southern	1	Scuthern	1	Southern	1	Southern
2	Calif. & Nev.	2	Colorado	2	Oklahoma	2	Oreg. & Wash.	2	Southeastern
3	Eastern	3	Calif. & Nev.	3	Colorado	3	South.Calif.	3	Oreg. & Wash.
4	Western	4	Oreg. & Wash.	4	Western & Oreg. & Wash.	4	Colorado	4	Colorado
5	Atlantic	5	Central Ill.	5	Calif. & Nev.	5	Iowa	5	Oklahoma
6	Central Ill.	6	Western	6	S. Ill., East. & C. Ill.	6	Eastern	6	Calif. & Nev. Iowa West
7	Iowa	7	Eastern	7	Atlantic & Iowa	7	Central Ill.	7	Central Ill. & S. Dak.
8	Central	8	Central & Atlantic	8	S. Nebr. & Central	8	Atlantic & West. & S. Dak.	8	Iowa East
9	South Dakota	9	Iowa	9	S. Dak. & N. Nebr.	9	Central & S.	9	Eastern,S. Nebr.,N.Nebr.
10	Kansas	10	Oklahoma	10	Kansas	10	Kans.,Minn. N. Nebr.	10	Atlantic, Western
11	Mich.,Nebr., N.Dak.,&Mont.	11	S. Dak., & S. Nebr.	11	Minn.,N.Dak., & Mont.	11	Mich.,N.Dak. & Mont.,N.Wisc.	11	Texas
12	Canada	12	N. Nebr.	12	Michigan	12	S. Ill.	12	N.Wisc.,N.Dak., & Mont.
13	N.Wisc.,S.Wisc. Texas	13	Kans.,Mich. N.Dak.,& Mont.	13	Texas,N.Wisc., N.Ill.	13	Ontario	13	Kans.,Minn.
14	N. Illinois	14	N. Ill.	14	Cntario	14	N. Ill.	14	Mich.,Central
15	Minnesota	15	N.Wisc.,S.Ill.	15	S. Wisc.	15	Texas	15	S. Ill.
		16	Texas	16	Alberta,B.C.	16	S. Wisc.	16	Alberta,B.C.
		17	Minn.& S.Wisc.	17	Manitoba & Saskat.	17	Alberta,B.C.	17	N. Ill.
		18	Canada			18	Manitobe & Saskat.	18	S. Wisc.
								19	Manitobe & Saskat.

congregations conducted services in German. The district ranked second in English usage in 1920, third in 1925, fifth in 1930, third in 1935, and sixth in 1940.

Central District: The first reference to official usage of English in this district is found in the Proceedings of 1912 where it is reported that a pastor was asked to make up an English report of what happened at the convention of the district. In 1920 the language ratio was 42% English and 58% German. Of the 206 congregations in the district, 24 used German exclusively and 33 used only English. In 1925 the language ratio changed to 54% English and 46% German, and only 14 congregations still used German exclusively. In 1921 the district elected its first English secretary. The Proceedings of that year included an English report. In 1927 the German edition of the district paper was discontinued. In 1930 the district had eight congregations which still used only German in their services. In the district 58% of the services were English. By 1935 the English percentage increased to 63%. By 1940 only one congregation still used German exclusively, and the English ratio went up to 67%. By 1945 all the congregations conducted English services. English became the official language of the district in 1928. In terms of English usage, the district ranked eighth in 1920, eighth in 1925, eighth in 1930, ninth in 1935, and fourteenth in 1940.

Central Illinois: This district had 101 congregations in 1920. Of these, seven used only German; 11 used English exclusively. The language ratio

was 44% English and 56% German for the district as a whole in 1920. The district elected an English secretary in 1921. In 1928 the president received permission to give his address at the convention in English and to give his report in the same language. In 1920 only 22 members requested the report of the Proceedings in German. The rest wanted theirs in English. In 1925 the English ratio went up to 59%. In 1930 this percentage rose to 64% and only one congregation still used German. The Proceedings, published in both languages at this time, were printed entirely in English in 1937. In 1940 the percentage of English services rose to 75%. The district ranked sixth in 1920, fifth in 1925, sixth in 1930, and seventh in 1935 and 1940.

Colorado: This district has been predominantly English since its organization in 1921. The Proceedings of that year were printed in English. Only the essay[1] read at the convention in German was printed in German. Minutes of the meetings at first were read in both languages. Of the 75 congregations of the district in 1925, only four were conducted services wholly in German; 29 congregations used English exclusively. The language ratio at this time was 36% German and 64% English. By 1930 the English ratio increased to 70%. In 1933 the district instructed its secretary to do his work entirely in English, and not long afterwards the district resolved to have the essay at conventions only in English. In 1948 only four congregations of the district still conducted a number of services in German. The district ranked second in 1925, third in 1930, fourth in 1935 and 1940.

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[1] It is customary at synodical conventions of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod to include in the agenda of business the presentation of a doctrinal and/or practical paper which is discussed by the group.

Eastern: Of the 129 congregations of the district in 1920, 11 used German exclusively in religious services. In the preceding year a congregation of the district memorialized the 1919 convention to allow the use of English on the floor of the convention. This request was made because this particular congregation could find no delegate who could use the German language. The convention allowed the request and instructed the secretary to translate the minutes, and to have essays read in both languages. The percentage of English in the district at this time was 51%. In 1925 the English percentage rose to 57%. In 1927, because the demand for a bilingual report was not great enough, only an English report, with the German essay included, was published. The English ratio in 1930 rose to 61%, and in 1936 to 66%. English became the official language of the district in 1930. In 1934 the district voted to discontinue the German essay because the majority could not understand German or preferred English. In 1940 the percentage of English in the district rose to 72%. The district ranked third in 1920, seventh in 1925, sixth in 1930 and 1935, and ninth in 1940.

Iowa: In 1920 this district was 57% German. Prior to this, in 1918, there was some agitation for more English in the district. In 1919 a group petitioned the district to allow those delegates who could not use German to use English on the floor of the conventions. This request was granted and a resolution was adopted to have a short resume of the Proceedings of that year published in English. The English percentage in 1925 was 52%. Only nine congregations in the State of Iowa still

conducted services in German exclusively at this time. The district was 60% English in 1935. In 1937 the district was divided into Iowa East and Iowa West. At this time no more German essays were printed, although a number of them were delivered at the conventions. English became the official language of the district in 1931 and, since its beginning in 1937, Iowa District West has conducted all its proceedings officially in English. Before the division of the district into two districts the percentage of English had risen to 70%. Of the 257 congregations of both districts in 1949, only 33 still conducted German services. The district ranked seventh in 1920, ninth in 1925, seventh in 1930, fifth in 1935. Iowa West ranked sixth in 1940 and Iowa East ranked eighth in 1940.

Kansas: In 1910 the Kansas District requested the general body to publish an English edition of the Agenda.[1] In 1916 it resolved to publish an English edition of the business report. During the twenties the use of English increased in the district from 34% to 52%. In 1925 the Proceedings were recorded in English, and the secretary was instructed to record the minutes in English, but it was not until 1940 that they were recorded only in English. At this time the district decided to have the Proceedings printed in German only for those who desired it. As of 1940, two congregations still used German exclusively in their services, but the district as a whole was 68% English. In 1945 one congregation still used German exclusively, but in 1948 also this congregation conducted services in both

[1] Liturgical book containing order of worship for church services.

languages. The district ranked tenth in 1920, thirteenth in 1925, tenth in 1930 and 1935, and thirteenth in 1940.

Michigan: In 1920, 33 of the district's 188 congregations still used German exclusively. The percentage of English in the district at this time was only 33%. By 1930 this percentage had risen to 51%. In 1924 the district resolved to print the Proceedings in German and in English, and to have a short English essay read to the convention in the future. A year later the convention decided that the Proceedings were to appear in one pamphlet, the essay in the language in which it was read, the business report in English. The last German essay in this district was read in 1928. By 1946 the percentage of English in the district had risen to 78%. The district ranked eleventh in 1920, thirteenth in 1925, twelfth in 1930, eleventh in 1935, and fourteenth in 1940.

Minnesota: This district was predominantly German in 1920. Of more than 400 congregations, 190 used German exclusively in that year. The percentage of English was only 25%. During the next ten years the English percentage rose to 47%. In 1928 the district resolved to publish the Proceedings in both German and English. In 1940 the English percentage in the district was 60%. Although in 1948 all the congregations of the district used English, 124 congregations also used German in religious services. Like a number of the other districts in the Midwest, this district was slow in making exclusive use of English. The district ranked last in 1920, next to last in 1925, eleventh in 1930, tenth in 1935, and thirteenth in 1940.

Nebraska: Before the division of the district into the Northern and Southern Nebraska Districts in 1921, the Nebraska District was 33% English. In 1924 both districts resolved to use more English in their published Proceedings. In 1927 the Northern Nebraska District elected an English secretary. In 1925 the Southern Nebraska District resolved to have the entire Proceedings published in English, including an English summary of the German essay. The last German essay read at a Northern Nebraska District convention was in 1937. Because there were not many who could read German, the Southern Nebraska District in 1936 resolved to publish the Messenger, a district periodical, in English with a German insert every other month. The Nebraska District ranked eleventh in 1920. In 1925 the Southern Nebraska District ranked eleventh, in 1930 eighth, in 1935 and 1940 ninth. The Northern Nebraska District ranked twelfth in 1925, ninth in 1930, tenth in 1935, and ninth in 1940.

North Dakota and Montana: Like some of the other districts, the North Dakota and Montana District was slow in making the change from German to English. Not until 1939 did the district elect an English secretary, and it was not until 1940 that the official minutes were written in the English language. In 1946 this district still had six congregations, with 668 baptized members, where the services were all German. For the district as a whole, however, the percentage of English in 1946 was 81%. The district ranked eleventh in 1920, thirteenth in 1925, eleventh in 1930 and 1935, and twelfth in 1940.

Northern Illinois: During the twenties the use of English in this district increased from 28% to 49%. The district elected an English secretary in

1937. The 1931 convention of the district resolved to have the essays printed in the language in which they were read, but the business matters in English. In 1943 the convention passed a resolution to discontinue the German essay. By 1940 the district was 72% English. The district ranked fourteenth in 1920, and 1925, thirteenth in 1930, fourteenth in 1935, and seventeenth in 1940.

Wisconsin: This district was divided into South and North Wisconsin districts in 1916. Both districts were slow in making the change from German to English usage. In 1920 both districts were only 30% English. In 1921 the North Wisconsin District resolved to print an English report of the Proceedings. In the same year the 32 pages of the Proceedings of the South Wisconsin District included an 8-page summary in English. In 1927 this district decided to include a short English essay in its sessions. The South Wisconsin District in 1933 appointed a committee to study and to submit a report on the advisability of making the English language the official language of the district. In 1934 the committee advised the district to let the matter rest; it would take care of itself. This resolution was adopted. The last German essay was read in 1939, and in this year the district made English the official language. In 1946, 70% of the services in this district were in English. Both districts, because of strong preference for German in the congregations of the districts, ranked consistently low in English usage from 1920 to 1940.

Oregon and Washington: During the twenties this district increased in English usage from 44% to 65%. In 1921 the word "German" was dropped

from the official name. The great part of the business reported in 1924 appeared in English. In 1927 the entire Proceedings were in English, except for the German essay. In 1933 the German essay was dropped from the agenda of the convention's order of business. The district was 78% English in 1940. In 1946 only three congregations had half German and half English services. In 1948 only four congregations still used some German. It is noteworthy that the district president conducted sessions of the convention in 1918 in the English language, and the members of the district fully approved his action. The district ranked fourth in 1925 and 1930, second in 1935 and third in 1940.

South Dakota: Of the 95 congregations of the district, 20 still used German exclusively in 1920. By 1930 this number dropped to eight; in 1940 to three. In 1931, three overtures at the convention urged the adoption of English as the official language of the district, but the committee in charge violently opposed these overtures and the district rejected them. The trend toward English usage, however, was steady. In 1930 55% of its services were in English, and in 1946 86% were in English. The district ranked ninth in 1920, eleventh in 1925, ninth in 1930, eighth in 1935, and seventh in 1940.

Southern: From the beginning this district manifested much interest in the language question. In 1913 the report of the convention appeared in the Lutheran Witness. This report read:

> After disposing of preliminaries, the Rev. G. J. Wegener, President of the Synodo read the customary synodical address. It dealt with the language question in our southern church. It was stated that in recent years a gradual change had taken place throughout this District Synod as regards the language employed to conduct the church services; that four-fifths of all our church work today must needs be done in the English language. While this transition from German to English might be deplored by some, we nevertheless firmly believe that our father's faith is capable of expression in our children's language.[1]

In 1920 only three of the district congregations, the lowest number among the districts, used German in religious services exclusively. The percentage of English for the district as a whole at this time was 84%. By 1940 the percentage of English rose to 97%. Throughout the period from 1920 to 1940 this district ranked first in the amount of English used in religious services.

Southern Illinois: This district was slow in changing from German to English. In 1920 only seven congregations of the district used English, while 16 congregations used German exclusively. In 1924 the district at convention decided to have a short English essay read and to continue to allow those proficient in the English language to use that language on the floor. Except for the German essay, the Proceedings in 1934 appeared entirely in English. In 1940, when the district was 65% English, the English language became the official language of the district. From this time on the services and essays at the convention were to be in English. The district ranked consistently low during the period 1920 to 1940. It was fifteenth in 1925, sixth in 1930, twelfth in 1935, and fifteenth in 1940.

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[1] Lutheran Witness, June 25, 1913, p. 94.

Texas: The congregations of this district in the South in 1920 used more German than English exclusively. For that year the English percentage was only 30%. Ten years later the proportion was half and half. In 1927 the district resolved to have an English essay read at its next convention. In 1933 the district elected German and English secretaries. In 1936 the Proceedings were first printed in English, and in 1939 the districts eliminated the positions of German and English secretaries. By 1940 the percentage of English in the district was 70%; in 1945 it was 84%. In 1948 26 congregations still used some German in connection with religious services. Of all the southern States, Texas is the only one in which a fairly strong preference for German is still manifested. The district ranked thirteenth in 1920, sixteenth in 1925, thirteenth in 1930, fifteenth in 1935, and eleventh in 1940.

Western: In 1920 this district, oldest of the districts of the church, ranked fourth among the districts in English usage. In this year 49% of religious services were conducted in the English language. In 1921 an English essay was read at the convention. In 1922 the Proceedings appeared in English. These dates, compared with those of other districts in which English essays were read at conventions, are rather early. In 1931 the distribution of the district's paper, the Western District Lutheran was: 5,000 in German, and 15,000 in English, showing a language preference of three to one in favor of the English. In 1940 the district was 71% English. It ranked fourth in 1920, sixth in 1925, fourth in 1930, eighth in 1935, and tenth in 1940.

These data on the development of the increasing use of English in religious services and official meetings of the individual districts of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod show that the same general pattern of English language acceptance prevailed throughout the church. In some of the districts the diffusion of language was less gradual than in others. All the districts made more use of English in religiou services than at official meetings of the church. Almost every district published the business matters at conventions in English before reporting doctrinal matters in that language. This shows that the laymen of the church were in greater need of having the work of the church done in English than the pastors who were able to make more proficient use of the German language. The fact that during the twenties, in almost every district of the church, there was a large increase in English usage indicates the effect of the first World War which played such a dominant role in increasing English usage in 1918 and later. The increasing use of English did not end with the war but continued through the twenties, into the thirties and did not disappear in the forties. As indicated before (See Maps 4 and 5, pp. 67 and 68), the history of English language acceptance in the individual districts of the church shows that the areas of German dominance or preference lie in the Midwestern and Central States, whereas the districts quick to respond to demands for an increasing use of English lie in the South and along the East and West coasts.

A further reduction of the universe of investigation follows in the discussion of the role of the English District.

The Role of the English District

The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod comprises twenty-nine districts in the United States. All these districts, except one, are territorial units. The exception is the English District, whose 172 congregations with 176 pastors and 98,977 souls are scattered over some sixteen territorial districts of the Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod, fourteen States in the United States, and one province in Canada (See Table 15, p. 96). The English District, therefore, stands in a functional and not a geographical relationship to the other districts of the church.

The English District is the successor to a separate and independent English Missouri Synod that united with the then German Missouri Synod in 1911 as an English District. As a Synod the English District had its beginnings in southeastern Missouri where a small number of English Lutherans were living. They had come from western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee where in 1820, nineteen years before the Saxon Lutherans came to this country and settled in Missouri, they had organized the Tennessee Synod. The principal cause that led to the organization of this body was the prevailing laxity in doctrine and practice in the older synods.[1]

When the German Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States organized in 1847, members of the Tennessee Synod heard of it, and took note of it at a convention in 1848 in the following resolutions:

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[1] Eckhardt, H. P. op. cit. pp. 6-7.

Table 15. Distribution of English District congregations, pastors, and souls by States in 1948 *

State	Congregations	Pastors	Souls
California	16	13	3,126
Illinois	41	41	27,904
Indiana	7	6	3,980
Michigan	27	32	15,468
Minnesota	7	8	5,420
Missouri	7	8	6,603
Montana	4	3	730
Nebraska	1	1	400
New Jersey	9	9	3,364
New York	12	11	6,736
Ohio	15	17	9,511
Pennsylvania	13	13	4,392
Texas	2	2	827
Wisconsin	9	9	9,309
Ontario, Canada	2	3	1,207
Totals	172	176	98,977

*Adapted from Statistical Yearbook. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1948. p. 145.

> That we rejoice to learn that some of our German Lutheran brethren in the West have formed themselves into a synod, called the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States; and that they are publishing a German paper, styled Der Lutheraner, which is devoted to the promulgation and defense of the primitive doctrines and usages of the Lutheran Church; to which paper we would call the attention of our German brethren.[1]

The two bodies soon made contacts. In 1872 a "free conference" between representatives of the two synods was held at Gravelton, Missouri where after discussion of various doctrinal theses presented by Dr. C. F. W. Walther, of the German Missouri Synod doctrinal unity of the English and German Lutherans, was declared. Upon the advice of the German Missourians the English group organized "The English Lutheran Conference of Missouri".

As early as 1886 the English Conference elected a committee to draw up a plan for admission into the German Missouri Synod as an English District. This plan came before the German Synod at its convention at Fort Wayne in 1887. But the German Synod declined the petition and advised the English congregations to form their own Lutheran Synod of the English tongue, and to affiliate with the Synodical Conference, an organization founded in 1872, comprising several Lutheran church bodies which were in doctrinal agreement.[2]

This action on the part of the German Synod shows that, as a group, the members of the German Synod at that time both wanted and expected to remain German. But the fact that it encouraged the establishment of a separate English Synod within the bounds of the Synodical Conference

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[1] Henkel, Socreates. History of the Tennessee Synod, in H. P. Eckhardt, The English District, p. 8.

[2] Eckhardt, H. P. op. cit., pp. 16-17.

indicates that it was not unaware of its duty of preaching the Gospel to English-speaking people. This is evident also from the fact that its convention in 1890 adopted the following resolution:

> Whenever, therefore, those of our pastors who are able to preach also in English, though deficiently at first, find opportunities for establishing English Lutheran congregations, they should gladly avail themselves of these opportunities, so that, if the time should come in our country when it would be more profitable for the kingdom of God to expend more time and energy in its expansion by the medium of the English language, we be not unprepared, but can go to work promptly and joyfully in a tabernacle already prepared for us among an English-speaking people.[1]

Officially the German Synod gave the young English Synod encouragement and support. Yet there was often strong opposition to the establishment of English congregations in many places where German churches were located. This opposition often took the form of official protests and necessitated repeated peace-disturbing intersynodical investigations. Accordingly, the English Synod again in 1897 sought closer union with the German Synod by amalgamation, but the German Synod showed little interest in the proposition and only half of the voting members of the English Synod voted to seek closer union.[2]

In 1911 the English Synod again decided by a majority vote to seek a closer union with the German Synod, but only by district and not by amalgamation. The English Synod made its decision known to the German Synod at the latter's convention held at St. Louis, Missouri in 1911, and the German Synod by resolution agreed to receive the English Synod as a

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[1] Proceedings of the German Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1890.

[2] Dau, W. H. T. op. cit. pp. 426-430.

district into its body. The union between the two Synods was formally consumated on Monday, May 15, 1911. This arrangement whereby the English District is a part of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod without being a separate territorial unit like the other districts of the church, still prevails today.

In the course of sixty years the English District grew from 17 to 172 congregations (Table 16, p. 100). The communicant membership of the district more than doubled during the decade, 1908 to 1918. This was the period during which the first World War was waged and it is not surprising that the greatest increase in communicant membership should take place during this period.

The history of the English District reveals the process of social adaptation in the institutional structure of the church. The German Synod by its refusal to receive the English District into its organization as a territorial district, manifested a typical institutional ethnocentric attitude. The older generation wanted to maintain the status quo.

> The older generation usually adopts only certain superficial aspects of the institutions forced upon them by irresistible social pressures or newly developed needs growing out of the changed situation. The second generation is often suspended in a more or less disorganized state between the parent culture and the new, but usually alienated from the older generation by mutual loss of respect. The third generation has largely adopted most of the salient institutions of the dominant or prestige culture.[1]

By not officially opposing the establishment of English congregations, elementary schools and colleges, the German Synod no doubt felt that it

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[1] Hertzler, J. O. Social Institutions. op. cit. pp. 294-295.

Table 16. Growth of English District by decades, 1888 to 1948

Year	Pastors	Congregations	Communicants
1888	8	17	419
1898	28	42	4,000
1908	56	85	12,842
1918	88	112	27,467
1928	141	158	42,691
1938	173	180	57,603
1948	176	176	65,090

was adapting satisfactorily to the new situation. The German Synod encouraged the English District in its work and even granted the body monetary support.[1]

The English Synodo by its close association and doctrinal harmony with the German Synodo kept alive the English question in the circles of the latter, and pointed out the shape of things to come. In certain localities, however, especially where conflicts arose as the result of the establishment of English congregations, competition developed and the transition from German to English in congregations thus affected was no doubt retarded. In localities where both German and English congregations existed, individuals who preferred the English language naturally affiliated with the English congregations, leaving the German element to continue their exclusive use of the German language. But there were not enough English District congregations in the country to receive the increasing number of people who preferred English to German so that, as time went on, it became ever more urgent and evident that German Synod congregations would have to conduct more services in English to meet the demands of the new situation. The mode of adaptation to English language demands through the English District was not adequate and additional adjustment on the part of the church had to be made. For this reason the English District, by showing through its work the utility and compatibility of the English language, served to act as an important factor in the acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod.

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[1] Before it became the property of the German Synodo St. John's College, Winfield, Kansas, a gift of J. P. Baden to the English Synod in 1893, was supported by the German Synod with appropriations up to $3000 per annum.

A Case Study of the Algona Circuit

The writer made a case study of the twelve congregations of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod in the Algona Circuit of Iowa District West (See Map 6, p. 103). These congregations are located in the following northern Iowa counties: Hancock, Kossuth, Palo Alto, Humboldt, and Wright (See Map 7, p. 104). Four of the congregations are open country churches, seven are located in towns of less than 2,500 population, and therefore classified as rural, and one is urban. The writer selected these congregations first of all for the reason that they were readily accessible for study, and secondly, because they are, as a group, typical of Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations in the United States. The organization dates of these congregations comes from almost every decade of the church's history in Iowa since 1875 (See Table 17, p. 105). These congregations are average in size and, as a circuit, their number represents what is typical of a circuit in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod.

By means of a schedule[1] used in personal interviews with the pastors and a few laymembers of these congregations, the writer obtained information on the development of the acceptance of the English language in the congregations of this area. At the start the assumption was that these congregations would constitute a typical sample of Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations and that the pattern of English language acceptance in the church as a whole would be found in this sample. The

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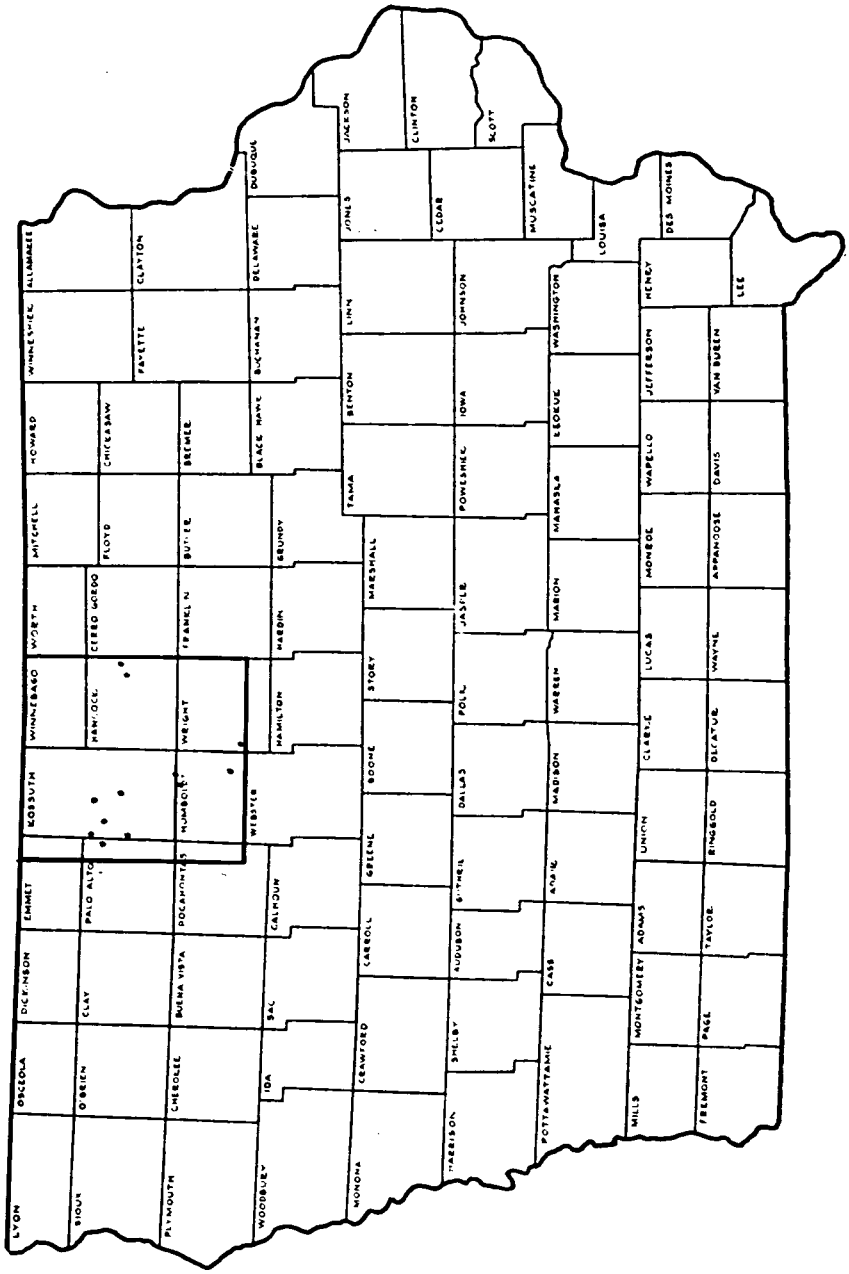
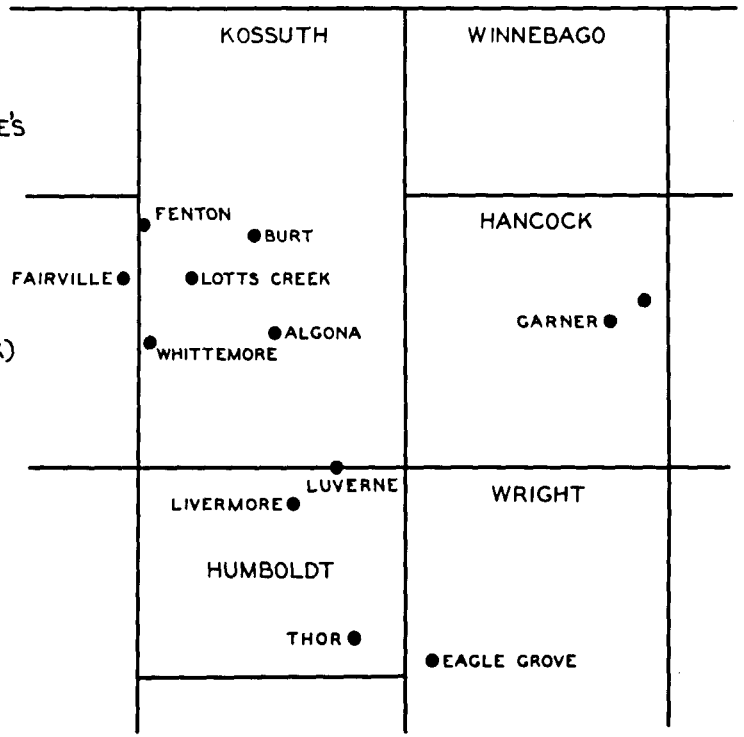
[1] See Appendix, pp. 123-141.



MAP 6 - ALGONA CIRCUIT, IOWA DISTRICT WEST

GARNER - ST. PAUL'S
GARNER, 7 MILES NE - ST. JOHN'S
ALGONA - TRINITY
BURT - ST. JOHN'S
CYLINDER, (AT FAIRVILLE) - ST. LUKE'S
EAGLE GROVE - CALVARY
FENTON - ST. JOHN'S
HUMBOLDT - (4 MILES WEST OF THOR) - ZION
LIVERMORE - IMMANUEL
LUVERNE - ZION
WHITTEMORE - ST. PAUL'S
LONE ROCK - (NEAR LOTTS CREEK) - IMMANUEL



MAP 7 · LUTHERAN CHURCH - MISSOURI SYNOD CONGREGATIONS OF THE ALGONA CIRCUIT, IOWA DISTRICT WEST.

Table 17. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod Congregations of the Algona Circuit, Iowa District West 1950

Congregation	Date of Organization	Souls	Communicants	Pastor
Trinity, Algona	1904	593	404	L. Loesch
St. John's, Burt	1913	338	241	L. Loesch
St. Luke's, Cylinder	1895	263	145	A. Rehder*
Calvary, Eagle Grove	1947	86	55	G. Mensing
St. John's, Fenton	1901	419	334	W. Friedrich
St. John's, Garner	1887	285	205	L. Heidemann
St. Paul's, Garner	1894	273	175	G. Kupke*
Zion, Humboldt	1884	248	162	E. Strelow
Immanuel, Livermore	1932	180	121	G. Mensing
Immanuel, Lone Rock	1875	366	260	G. Schaefer
Zion, Luverne	1880	485	375	L. Wittenburg
St. Paul's, Whittemore	1885	549	373	P. Weinhold

*These pastors recently accepted a call to another congregation.

purpose of this study, therefore, was to investigate the validity of this hypothesis. The investigation enables one to observe the factors which retarded and promoted the acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod at close range in terms of individual congregations. Like the church as a whole, were these congregations generally indifferent about English usage before the first World War? What effect did the first World War have on language usage in these congregations? Which congregations maintained the use of German the longest and why? What effect did mixed marriages, adult confirmations, English instruction for confirmation for children, have on language usage? What opposition, if any, was expressed against the increasing use of English?

The twelve congregations of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod in the Algona Circuit of Iowa District West are average in communicant membership, but above the average in the number of congregations organized before 1900. The data (See Table 17, p. 105) show that the average communicant membership of these congregations is 237, and that of the twelve congregations in the area, seven were organized before 1900. For the State of Iowa, fifty percent of Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations were organized before 1900 (Cp. Table 10, p. 70). For the church as a whole the majority of congregations fall in the 100-199 communicant group, but the average size of congregations in the church is 250 communicants. All the congregations of the Algona Circuit except one must be classified as rural according to population, but, like the church as a whole, the Algona Circuit is not as rural as this twelve to one ratio would seem to show. The church as a whole in 1947 was fifty-eight percent

rural and forty-two percent urban according to population, but on the basis of the occupation of its members, the church was only thirty-two percent rural and sixty-eight percent urban.[1]

Prior to 1917 none of the congregations of the Algona Circuit reported the use of the English language in religious services or in business meetings. However, with the entry of the United States in the war against Germany in 1917, the majority of the congregations in the circuit began to conduct English services in addition to the German services every Sunday (See Table 18, p. 108). During the summer of 1918 a committee of pastors from the Iowa District met with Governor Harding and adopted a definite policy with regard to the use of the German language in public services. The committee issued the following report for the benefit of all the congregations of the District:

> All services must be in the English language, but the sermon may be repeated in the German or any other foreign language for the benefit of those who do not understand the English language. It must be understood, however, that those attending the German service must also attend the one in English . . . .We feel that in these strenuous times everyone ought to be willing to make every effort to live and act according to the above outlined course. It has the endorsement of Governor Harding, and by acting according to it, the Gospel can be preached to all our people.[2]

The Council of Defense in Hancock County published the following resolution:

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[1] Statistical Year Book. St. Louis. Concordia Publishing House. 1948. p. 148.

[2] Koch, G. Unpublished memoirs.

Table 18. Language usage of Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations of the Algona Circuit, Iowa District West from 1918 to 1950

Congregation	Date of Organization	1918 E-G	1920 E-G	1925 E-G	1930 E-G	1935 E-G	1940 E-G	1945 E-G	1950 E-G
Trinity, Algona	1904	4-4	2-3	3-2	2-2	3-2	4-2	4-1	4-1/4
St. John's, Burt	1913	4-4	2-2	4-2	4-2	4-1	4-0	4-0	4-0
St. Luke's, Cylinder	1895	4-4	1-3	1-2	3-1	4-1	4-0	4-0	4-0
Calvary, Eagle Grove	1947	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4-0
St. John's, Fenton	1901	4-4	1-3	1-2	2-2	4-2	4-2	4-1	4-0
St. John's, Garner	1887	4-4	2-2	2-2	2-2	4-2	4-0	4-0	4-0
St. Paul's, Garner	1894	4-4	2-2	4-2	4-2	4-2	4-0	4-0	4-0
Zion, Humboldt	1884	4-4	1-3	1-3	2-2	2-2	4-0	4-0	4-0
Immanuel, Livermore	1932	-	-	-	-	4-0	4-0	4-0	4-0
Immanuel, Lone Rock	1875	4-4	1-3	1-3	2-2	2-2	4-1	4-0	4-0
Zion, Luverne	1880	4-4	1-3	2-2	3-2	4-2	4-2	4-0	4-0
St. Paul's, Whittemore	1885	4-4	1-3	2-4	2-2	4-4	4-4	4-2	4-2

> Be it resolved, by the Hancock County Council of Defense following the leadership of the Iowa Council of National Defense, request that the holding of religious services and the teaching of classes in Sunday Schools and Bible Classes in any language excepting English, in Hancock County, Iowa, be discontinued until after the close of the war.[1]

Previously, on November 17, 1917, the Iowa Council of National Defense passed the following resolution unanimously with regard to the teaching of German in the public schools:

> Resolved, that it is the sense of the Iowa Council of National Defense that the public schools of Iowa, supported by public taxation, should discontinue the teaching of the German language.[2]

After hostilities ceased, the data (See Table 18, p. 108) show that while the congregations of the Algona Circuit maintained the use of the German language after the close of the first World War, they did not use it exclusively. With the beginning of the second World War in 1940, five of the congregations which had been conducting from one to two German services each month dropped the use of the German language altogether. At the present time only two of the congregations still conduct services in German, one twice per month, and the other four times per year with an average attendance of sixty and thirty per service respectively.

The majority of the congregations of the Algona Circuit conducted bilingual services after the close of the first World War. Seven of these dropped a number of English services in favor of more German services.

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[1] Ibid

[2] Swisher, J. A. Iowa City, Iowa. Information on resolutions of the Iowa Council of National Defense. (Private communication). March 7, 1950.

This arrangement, however, did not prevail very long. In 1930 four of the twelve congregations conducted more services in English than in German and, according to statements made in interviews, the German services were never as well attended as the English services. It is noteworthy that the curve of language usage (See Fig. 8, p. 111) in the Algona Circuit follows closely the curve of language usage for the church as a whole (Cp. Fig. 5, p. 61). The year in which congregations used approximately half German and half English is the same for the Algona Circuit as it is for the church as a whole (1925).

That the first World War was the prime factor in motivating the first employment of the English language in religious services is evident from the fact that those who were interviewed consistently mentioned this war as the primary cause for the beginning of the change from German to English (See Table 19, p. 112). At this time, too, (1917-1918), the English language became the medium of instruction in confirmation classes. In some of the congregations (See Table 19, p. 112) the year 1917 or 1918 is given as the time when the minutes[1] of the congregational meetings were first written in the English language. In some of the congregations the secretaries wrote the minutes in English instead of German because they were not able to write the minutes in the German language. This indicates that the laymen, especially those of the younger generation, were no longer able to use the German language as expertly as before.

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[1] Typical of quotations from the minutes of congregational meetings which dealt with the language question is this: "The pastor suggested that during the present war conditions we drop our German services completely for the time being. Motion was made and seconded that due to the present war conditions in Europe we drop our German services temporarily. This was carried". Minutes, St. John's Congregation, Garner, Iowa, April 21, 1940.

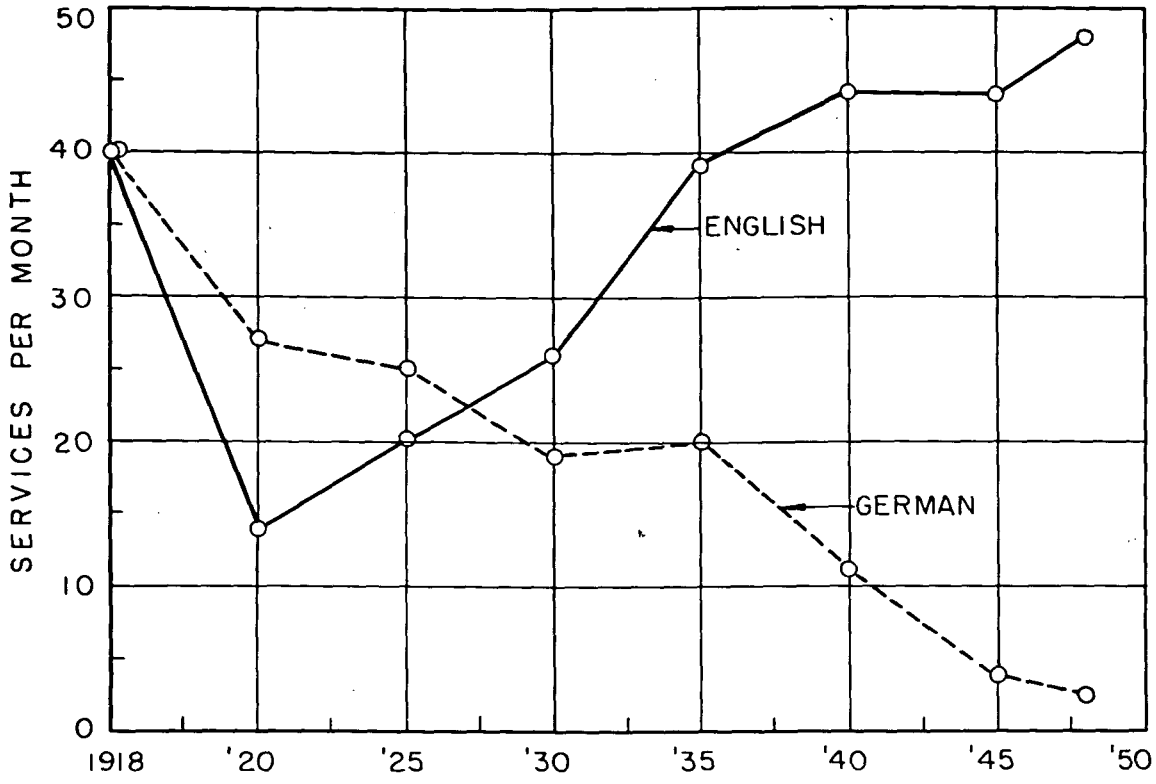

Fig. 8 Language usage in the congregations of the Algona Circuit, Iowa District West, 1918 to 1948.

Table 19. Summary of major points in schedule employed with Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations of the Algona Circuit, Iowa District West

Congregation	Primary cause of change from German to English	Year in which English became medium of instruction for Confirmation	Year in which minutes were first written in English	Date of Sunday School organization	Year in which English became dominant
Trinity, Algona	World War I	1922	1931	1931	1931
St. John's, Burt	World War I	1918	1923	1928	1923
St. Luke's, Cylinder	World War I	1917	1922	1930	1929
Calvary, Eagle Grove*	-	-	-	-	-
St. John's, Fenton	World War I	1918	1918	1929	1932
St. John's, Garner	World War I	1918	1928	1939	1935
St. Paul's, Garner	World War I	1918	1925	?	1930
Zion, Humboldt	World War I	1917	1932	1929	1940
Immanuel, Livermore**	-	-	-	-	-
Immanuel, Long Rock	World War I	1917	1920	None	1943
Zion, Luverne	World War I	1918	1931	1932	1931
St. Paul's, Whittemore	World War I	1918	1944	1945	1945

*Organization date of this congregation is 1947.
**Organization date of this congregation is 1932.

Mixed marriages helped to bring about a more general acceptance of the English language in the congregations of the Algona Circuit. As a factor in hastening the transition from German to English in the congregations, respondents mentioned mixed marriages next to the first World War. Members of the church who married individuals unable to understand German made the use of more English evident and necessary.

Children of the congregation who received their confirmation instructions in the English language also made the use of more English in religious services necessary. Beginning with 1918, pastors in every congregation except one began to give instructions preparatory to confirmation in the English language. One respondent declared that his congregation made an effort, seven years after the war, to give confirmation instructions again in German but since the children could not grasp the meaning of the material in the German language, the effort failed.

The church periodical subscription lists of the congregations of the Algona Circuit follow closely the pattern of the church as a whole, that is, the majority of the members subscribe to the English periodical, the Lutheran Witness, while only a small number of members, chiefly older people, subscribe to the German periodical, the Lutheraner.

While the organization of a Sunday School in the congregations of the Algona Circuit cannot be shown to have influenced the increasing use of the English language, the dates of organization for the Sunday Schools agree rather closely to those years in which the English language became the dominant language of the congregations (See Table 19, p. 112). In every instance, of course, the English language was the medium of

instruction in Sunday School classes.

The pattern of change with respect to language usage in the Algona Circuit, then, evolved in manner and time similar to the pattern of change in the church as a whole. Until the first World War the churches of the Algona Circuit reported no use of the English language in their work. Social pressure in 1917 and 1918 was so strong that all the congregations began to use English in their worship services. The first World War, as has been pointed out, was the turning point in the history of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod with regard to language usage. With the introduction and acceptance of this new cultural element other positive factors in favor of the English language in the work of the church developed until together they produced the change from exclusive German language usage to almost exclusive English usage.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It took seventy-seven years before the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod conducted half of its religious services in the English language. It took even longer before the church conducted its official meetings in English. In an English-speaking country it would appear that the change from German to English should have come sooner. Sentiment often plays an important role in the retention of ancient custom and tradition. The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod however, retained the use of the German language in its religious services and official meetings for reasons other than love for the German language as such. It has been pointed out that to many of the fathers the German language was a bulwark against religious indifference, and a defense against the liberalistic and rationalistic tendencies of the times. Many apparently sincerely felt that a certain degree of orthodoxy would be lost if they adopted more readily than they did the use of the English language in religious services and in official church meetings.

The conservative nature of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod made a more rapid change from German to English usage impossible. Leaders of the church did not see a danger in the change from German to English, since it came slowly, but regarded it rather as a necessary and beneficial occurrence. In 1921, a few years before half of the services in the church were conducted in the English language, the editor of the Lutheran Witness wrote:

> The change of language need not hurt one church. It expands immeasurably our missionary opportunity. But the change of language which takes place without adequate provision for the training of Lutheran consciousness and conscience--as our fathers trained us--will not only hurt, but will be a calamity.[1]

The data presented show that, with the exception of the formative period of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod in the United States, there was a consistent decline in the exclusive use of the German language, and a consistent increase in the exclusive use of the English language, both in religious services and in the official meetings of the church. The process of acceptance, of course, was gradual and slow.

The rapid decline of the use of the German language and the rapid increase of the use of the English language in worship services and official meetings of the church during the periods, 1918-1919, and 1940-1947, show the influence of the two World Wars on the membership and leaders of the church. These wars accelerated the transition from German to English usage. National emergencies quicken the pace of cultural assimilation.

The area in which the church membership still prefers some use of the German language in church services (the Central and Midwestern States) is correlated with both the age and the number (density) of Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations.

A correlation exists also between the increasing use of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod and the increasing number of adult confirmations. As an increasing number of non-German speaking

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[1] Lutheran Witness, July 5, 1921, p. 212.

members came into the church, the necessity of more English services became apparent, and most congregations made them available.

The English District played a significant role in the church's acceptance of the English language, since this body of churches did its work from the beginning almost wholly in the English language. With congregations scattered throughout the country the English District at first was able to receive into its membership the small influx of members who desired or demanded English because they were not able to understand German. Moreover, the rapid and expanding English work of this district focused the attention of its sister German synod upon the opportunities available to the church through the English medium of expression.

While there is still some demand for the use of the German language in religious services, chiefly on the part of the older members of the church, the acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod is almost complete. With the passing of the older generation the demand for the German language in religious services will disappear.

The major points of this study on the acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod may be summarized as follows:

1. Immigration of German-speaking people from Germany was the primary factor contributing to the maintenance of German language usage in the church during its early history.

2. Secondary factors operating to maintain German usage in the church were ethnocentric attitudes, fear of loss of orthodoxy, German-trained pastors, inability of members to use and understand the English language, and confirmation in the German language.

3. The first World War was the primary factor contributing to the use and acceptance of the English language in the work of the church.

4. Secondary factors operating to promote an increasing use of the English language in the work of the church were adult confirmations in English, mixed marriages, mission expansion, increasing Americanization of the church's membership, English-trained pastors, the English District, and the second World War.

This study, therefore, has been an inventigation of a social process (social change) in operation in a cultural institution in a given area over a given period of time. It has been found that a complex of social forces were effective in producing the acceptance of the English language in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod.

The limitations of this study arise from the lack of adequate data, except for church services and official meetings of the church, with reference to language usage in the various phases of the church's work. There is also the difficulty, because of lack of data, of measuring the resistances to English usage. Additional and profitable research might be carried on concerning phases of the problem not treated in this investigation, such as a comparison between rural and urban congregations with regard to language usage, the influence of the church's educational system upon language usage, the effect of the authority and prestige of the

church's leaders upon the language question, the influence of the public schools, and other social and psychological factors.

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APPENDIX

Schedule regarding language usage in the congregations of the Algona Circuit, Iowa District West, Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod

1. Name of congregation _____ Location _____

2. Name of pastor _____

3. Rural _____ Urban _____

4. Date of organization of congregation _____

5. Membership:

   1. Souls _____

   2. Communicants _____

   3. Nationality: German _____ English _____ Norwegian _____

      Irish _____ Swedish _____ Other _____

6. Pastors who have served the congregation:

   1. _____ from _____ to _____

   2. _____ from _____ to _____

   3. _____ from _____ to _____

   4. _____ from _____ to _____

7. Language usage today:

   1. English _____ per month

   2. German _____ per month _____ per year

8. Church attendance:

   1. English _____ per service

   2. German _____ per service

9. Does the congregation have any members who are unable to understand English?_____ How many_____ Age _____

10. The congregation used the German language in religious services exclusively from _____ to _____

11. English services:

    1. Date of first English service_____ 2. How many per month_____

12. Bilingual services were conducted from _____ to _____

    1. Attendance at German services _____

    2. Attendance at English services _____

13. In what year did English become dominant?_____

14. In what year did the congregation begin to use English exclusively?_____

15. When did English become the medium of instruction for Confirmation?_____

16. When were the minutes of the voters' meetings first written in English?_____ Reason for the change _____

17. Subscription to church periodicals: (Give number)

    1. The Lutheran Witness_____

    2. Der Lutheraner_____

18. Date of organization of congregation's Sunday School _____

19. Opposition to change:

    1. Nature of: Mild_____ Medium_____ Severe_____

    2. Source of: Older people_____ Young people_____ Leaders_____

    3. Method of expressing opposition:_____

    _____

20. Chief agitators for more English in the congregation:

    1. Pastors _____ 2. Laymen _____ 3. Other _____

21. Pertinent quotes from congregational minutes with reference to the change from German to English:_____

    _____

    _____

    _____

22. What factors do you consider most important in the change from German to English in your congregation's religious services and business meetings?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

Appendix Table A. Language usage in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod by districts in 1920

Districts	All German	More German than English	Half & Half	More English than German	All English	Percent English
Atlantic	13	28	55	14	23	46
California & Nevada	13	14	30	4	22	52
Canada	19	11	8	5	3	31
Central	24	52	74	27	23	42
Central Illinois	7	27	41	18	11	44
Eastern	11	22	66	20	10	51
English	-	-	-	-	117	100
Iowa	17	41	80	27	10	43
Kansas	51	75	65	15	31	34
Michigan	33	71	62	13	6	33
Minnesota	190	139	95	19	63	25
Nebraska	41	89	74	15	24	33
N.Dakota & Montana	78	24	41	16	46	33
Northern Illinois	29	89	32	7	6	28
Northern Wisconsin	42	72	29	8	25	30
Oregon & Washington	25	18	18	8	25	44
South Dakota	20	30	35	7	19	36
Southern	3	-	5	12	26	84
Southern Illinois	16	31	15	6	7	36
Southern Wisconsin	40	40	35	2	7	30
Texas	38	31	25	10	21	30
Western	16	56	56	39	27	49
Totals	726	960	951	292	562	40

Appendix Table B. Language usage in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod by districts in 1925

Districts	All German	More German than English	Half & Half	More English than German	All English	Percent English
Atlantic	10	18	60	28	25	54
California & Nevada	-	6	34	19	39	63
Canada	118	33	42	19	77	35
Central	14	25	90	51	32	54
Central Illinois	2	16	26	46	14	59
Colorado	4	2	19	14	29	64
Eastern	6	9	76	33	23	57
English	-	-	-	-	149	100
Iowa	9	24	81	50	24	52
Kansas	16	38	45	27	20	43
Michigan	15	48	78	31	23	43
Minnesota	37	109	117	39	81	39
N.Dakota & Montana	36	29	54	20	51	43
North Nebraska	13	24	35	21	21	46
Northern Illinois	13	54	76	22	6	42
Northern Wisconsin	16	71	67	20	49	41
Oklahoma	3	13	16	9	13	50
Oregon & Washington	12	9	28	21	30	60
South Dakota	17	20	49	3	27	45
Southern	2	-	6	9	40	87
Southern Illinois	11	31	22	8	10	41
Southern Nebraska	4	35	51	15	16	47
Southern Wisconsin	23	41	51	11	11	39
Texas	27	43	25	24	35	40
Western	15	13	57	60	60	58
Totals	423	721	1,205	610	905	52

Appendix Table C. Language usage in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod by districts in 1930

Districts	All German	More German than English	Half & Half	More English than German	All English	Percent English
Alberta, B.C.	53	9	33	4	79	44
Atlantic	6	12	59	30	40	60
California & Nevada	-	1	21	15	39	65
Central	8	19	75	67	52	58
Central Illinois	1	11	22	44	30	64
Colorado	5	1	7	11	38	70
Eastern	2	8	59	40	37	61
English	-	-	-	3	172	99
Iowa	3	17	65	70	42	60
Kansas	11	16	45	44	25	53
Manitoba - Saskatchewan	74	17	22	6	47	27
Michigan	11	26	87	38	53	51
Minnesota	15	73	149	49	125	52
North Dakota - Montana	24	23	61	28	63	52
Northern Illinois	8	19	111	29	20	50
Northern Nebraska	5	11	46	25	21	55
North Wisconsin	10	47	86	22	60	50
Oklahoma	1	9	17	12	15	57
Ontario	9	11	24	8	13	49
Oregon & Washington	3	8	24	23	62	72
South Dakota	8	14	45	14	49	55
Southern	-	1	4	17	46	87
Southern California	-	-	16	5	24	72
Southern Illinois	6	23	25	15	24	64
Southern Nebraska	-	18	57	35	32	57
South Wisconsin	10	33	68	17	16	47
Texas	9	25	36	32	40	50
Western	9	22	64	61	104	66
Totals	291	276	1,328	764	1,368	58

Appendix Table D. Language usage in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod by districts in 1935

Districts	All German	More German than English	Half & Half	More English than German	All English	Percent English
Alberta & B.C.	46	11	32	5	58	43
Atlantic	1	3	75	25	64	65
California & Nevada	1	1	17	14	51	72
Central	5	14	68	55	78	63
Central Illinois	-	7	25	27	56	67
Colorado	4	2	7	7	37	72
Eastern	-	2	47	35	52	66
English	-	-	-	5	178	99
Iowa	1	9	42	81	86	70
Kansas	6	4	44	45	43	62
Manitoba & Saskatchewan	52	25	24	27	50	31
Michigan	6	17	81	43	73	59
Minnesota	6	30	127	90	147	61
N. Dakota & Montana	26	8	46	38	84	59
Northern Illinois	2	13	108	41	30	54
Northern Nebraska	2	7	40	36	31	62
North Wisconsin	3	26	84	47	87	59
Oklahoma	-	-	17	12	29	70
Ontario	7	4	25	8	19	55
Oregon & Washington	1	-	20	23	65	78
South Dakota	7	8	34	31	52	62
Southern	1	1	4	7	64	92
Southern California	-	-	13	5	36	77
Southern Illinois	4	14	25	18	24	57
Southern Nebraska	-	6	53	47	44	63
South Wisconsin	5	27	62	18	26	51
Texas	4	27	35	26	50	52
Western	4	17	68	45	97	65
Totals	194	282	1,223	841	1,711	64

Appendix Table E. Language usage in the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod by districts in 1940

Districts	All German	More German than English	Half & Half	More English than German	All English	Percent English
Alberta & B.C.	30	15	22	10	113	63
Atlantic	-	1	65	20	83	71
California & Nevada	-	-	16	7	65	80
Central	1	3	71	51	109	67
Central Illinois	-	2	20	25	68	75
Colorado	-	1	3	7	57	85
Eastern	-	-	35	26	61	72
English	-	-	1	3	150	99
Iowa East	2	-	18	23	48	74
Iowa West	-	-	16	40	87	80
Kansas	2	4	38	39	62	68
Manitoba & Saskatchewan	32	29	32	4	63	40
Michigan	2	3	78	49	90	66
Minnesota	3	10	118	92	188	68
North Dakota & Montana	12	10	40	37	113	69
Northern Illinois	-	3	100	44	51	60
Northern Nebraska	-	2	30	38	58	72
North Wisconsin	2	8	65	54	107	69
Oklahoma	-	-	15	11	33	81
Ontario	-	5	6	4	53	86
Oregon & Washington	-	-	13	17	106	86
South Dakota	3	2	26	28	65	75
Southeastern	-	-	9	4	63	87
Southern	-	-	2	5	78	97
Southern California	-	-	11	4	41	81
Southern Illinois	-	11	25	26	34	65
Southern Nebraska	-	-	37	43	70	72
South Wisconsin	3	12	68	25	55	59
Texas	2	10	37	24	81	70
Western	-	13	63	34	150	71
Totals	94	144	1,080	794	2,402	72

Appendix Table F. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations using English in 1920 by States*

State	Number of Congregations	Using English
Alabama	7	5
Arkansas	12	12
California	61	49
Colorado	34	28
Connecticut	21	17
Delaware	2	0
D.C.	2	2
Florida	8	8
Idaho	13	4
Illinois	369	313
Indiana	119	104
Iowa	172	154
Kansas	113	87
Kentucky	4	2
Louisiana	22	20
Maine	1	0
Maryland	24	22
Massachusetts	16	15
Michigan	197	155
Minnesota	313	217
Mississippi	4	4
Missouri	193	170
Montana	36	24
Nebraska	226	181
Nevada	3	2
New Hampshire	1	0
New Jersey	38	32
New Mexico	7	7
New York	140	131
North Carolina	12	12

*These data do not include the congregations of the English District which use the English language almost exclusively.

Appendix Table F (continued)

State	Number of Congregations	Using English
North Dakota	116	63
Ohio	90	77
Oklahoma	45	34
Oregon	18	9
Pennsylvania	51	47
Rhode Island	3	2
South Dakota	95	69
Tennessee	6	6
Texas	96	67
Utah	1	1
Virginia	10	10
Washington	27	15
West Virginia	2	2
Wisconsin	310	211
Wyoming	10	4

Appendix Table G. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations using English in 1925 by States

State	Congregations	Using English	State	Congregations	Using English
Alabama	8	7	Nebraska	254	239
Arkansas	19	19	Nevada	2	2
California	81	80	New Hampshire	1	1
Colorado	41	37	New Jersey	41	40
Connecticut	20	15	New Mexico	3	2
Delaware	1	0	New York	152	149
D.C.	2	2	North Carolina	17	17
Florida	11	11	North Dakota	116	91
Georgia	1	1	Ohio	96	91
Idaho	12	11	Oklahoma	46	43
Illinois	357	331	Oregon	20	18
Indiana	118	110	Pennsylvania	58	55
Iowa	186	176	Rhode Island	2	2
Kansas	126	111	South Dakota	111	94
Kentucky	4	4	Tennessee	6	6
Louisiana	19	18	Texas	113	89
Maine	1	1	Utah	1	1
Maryland	27	25	Virginia	11	11
Massachusetts	15	15	Washington	33	25

Appendix Table G (continued)

State	Congregations	Using English	State	Congregations	Using English
Michigan	218	199	West Virginia	1	1
Minnesota	342	303	Wisconsin	345	308
Mississippi	2	2	Wyoming	9	9
Montana	30	22			

Appendix Table H. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod Congregations using English in 1930 by States

State	Congregations	Using English	State	Congregations	Using English
Alabama	10	10	Nebraska	254	249
Arkansas	17	17	Nevada	2	2
California	99	98	New Hampshire	1	1
Colorado	46	41	New Jersey	43	43
Connecticut	23	21	New Mexico	2	2
Delaware	3	3	New York	163	160
D.C.	4	4	North Carolina	17	17
Florida	13	13	North Dakota	120	98
Georgia	1	1	Ohio	98	96
Idaho	12	12	Oklahoma	47	46
Illinois	384	370	Oregon	28	27
Indiana	127	122	Pennsylvania	59	58
Iowa	188	185	Rhode Island	3	1
Kansas	132	122	South Dakota	108	100
Kentucky	6	6	Tennessee	8	8
Louisiana	21	21	Texas	126	116
Maine	1	1	Utah	1	1
Maryland	26	26	Virginia	13	12
Massachusetts	16	16	Washington	33	33

Appendix Table H (continued)

State	Congregations	Using English	State	Congregations	Using English
Michigan	240	230	West Virginia	1	1
Minnesota	363	348	Wisconsin	348	329
Mississippi	2	2	Wyoming	9	9
Missouri	208	200			
Montana	34	31			

Appendix Table I. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations using English in 1935 by States

State	Congregations	Using English	State	Congregations	Using English
Alabama	9	9	Nebraska	250	247
Arkansas	19	19	Nevada	2	2
California	112	111	New Hampshire	1	1
Colorado	47	42	New Jersey	49	49
Connecticut	23	21	New Mexico	3	3
Delaware	1	1	New York	161	161
D.C.	2	2	North Carolina	19	19
Florida	15	15	North Dakota	121	105
Georgia	1	1	Ohio	109	101
Idaho	15	15	Oklahoma	52	52
Illinois	414	407	Oregon	29	28
Indiana	128	124	Pennsylvania	60	60
Iowa	211	210	Rhode Island	2	2
Kansas	128	120	South Dakota	111	105
Kentucky	9	9	Tennessee	12	12
Louisiana	24	24	Texas	129	119
Maine	1	1	Utah	2	2
Maryland	32	31	Virginia	10	10

Appendix Table I (continued)

State	Congregations	Using English	State	Congregations	Using English
Massachusetts	18	18	Washington	38	38
Michigan	237	229	West Virginia	2	2
Minnesota	372	366	Wisconsin	353	347
Mississippi	2	2	Wyoming	13	12
Missouri	218	215			
Montana	40	34			

Appendix Table J. Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod congregations using English in 1940 by States

State	Congregations	Using English	State	Congregations	Using English
Alabama	17	17	Nebraska	268	267
Arkansas	26	26	Nevada	5	5
California	159	159	New Hampshire	1	1
Colorado	63	63	New Jersey	52	52
Connecticut	25	23	New Mexico	10	10
Delaware	2	2	New York	182	181
D.C.	2	2	North Carolina	25	25
Florida	19	19	North Dakota	148	136
Georgia	9	9	Ohio	109	109
Idaho	29	29	Oklahoma	60	60
Illinois	459	451	Oregon	49	49
Indiana	142	142	Pennsylvania	65	65
Iowa	238	238	Rhode Island	2	2
Kansas	143	140	South Dakota	127	122
Kentucky	11	11	Tennessee	14	14
Louisiana	36	36	Texas	155	150
Maine	1	1	Utah	7	7
Maryland	36	36	Virginia	1	1
Massachusetts	20	20	Washington	66	66

Appendix Table J (continued)

State	Congregations	Using English	State	Congregations	Using English
Michigan	271	267	West Virginia	1	1
Minnesota	433	429	Wisconsin	258	252
Mississippi	5	5	Wyoming	10	10
Missouri	240	238			
Montana	74	71			